TITLE THE RITUAL MANAGEMENT OF ROYAL DEATH IN RENAISSANCE ENGLAND:1570-1625.

AUTHOR Jennifer Kate Alice WOODWARD

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AUTHOR: JENNIFER KATE ALICE WOODWARD
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DECLARATION

This thesis contains material that was submitted for my master's degree in English and European Renaissance Studies at the University of Warwick in August 1992. Appendix II, the account of the funeral rites of Charles IX (1574), previously appeared as an appendix to my M.A. dissertation, 'The Theatre of Death: Politics, Ritual and Ideology in the Royal Funeral of Charles IX'. The discussions of French royal funerals in chapters III and X are based on material from the same dissertation. Their inclusion in this thesis facilitates the comparative analysis of English royal funerals. In addition, chapter VIII includes material that previously appeared in my M.A. essay, 'Posthumous Glory: A Contextualised Study of the Death and Funeral of Prince Henry Stuart'. The material has, however, been extensively re-worked for inclusion in this thesis.

SUMMARY

This thesis represents the most detailed investigation into English royal funeral ceremonies 1570-1625 yet undertaken. It builds on earlier scholarship dealing with the French royal funeral and with the social history of death and burial in early modern England.

When gathering my source material I consulted manuscript and early printed material at the British Library, the Bodleian Library, the Library of Westminster Abbey, the College of Arms and the Bibliothèque Nationale.

My approach is to consider royal funeral rituals in terms of performance. I endeavour to place each of the royal funerals in its immediate performance and broader cultural context. The evidence is analysed using an approach which seeks to take account of both the political and affective implications of ritual.

Preliminary chapters establish the form of the English heraldic funeral and the French royal funeral, and assess the impact of the English Reformation on funeral ritual. I go on to discuss the funerals of Mary Stuart, Elizabeth I, Prince Henry Stuart, Anne of Denmark and James I respectively. Included is a bridging chapter which briefly summarises the religious and cultural changes which took place under James I and their impact on funeral ritual. Royal funerals are seen as flexible rather than fixed. They were modified to meet changing political needs but such modifications were always in accord with broader cultural trends. My thesis demonstrates that royal funeral rituals were highly dependent on their performance and cultural contexts.

The Epilogue looks at the implications my research has for readings of stage representations of funeral ritual and funeral symbolism in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. I show that royal funerals formed an important aspect of playhouse audience experience. Dramatists exploited that experience to show the operative nature of funeral ritual performance and the potency of its symbols for political propaganda.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Primary Sources

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series:	(CSPD)
Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series:	(CSPF)
Calendar of State Papers, Scotland:	(CSPSc)
Calendar of State Papers, Spain:	(CSPS)
Calendar of State Papers, Venice:	(CSPV)

Libraries

Bodleian Library, Oxford:	(Bod.)
British Library, London:	(BL)
College of Arms, London:	(CA)
Westminster Abbey Library, London:	(WA)
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris:	(BN)

INTRODUCTION

THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF DEATH, RITUAL AND FUNERALS

Power and Ceremony

> And what art thou, thou idol ceremony?
> What kind of god art thou, that suffer'st more
> Of mortal griefs than do thy worshippers?
> What are thy rents? What are thy comings in?
> O ceremony, show me but thy worth!
> What? Is thy soul of adoration?
> Art thou ought else but place, degree and form,
> Creating awe and fear in other men
> Wherein thou art less happy being feared
> Than they in fearing?[1]
>
> (*Henry V*,IV,i,213-220)

Henry's questions probe the nature of ceremony, how it operates and its relationship with political power. These questions have been central to ritual criticism in recent years, particularly since the publication of Clifford Geertz's highly influential, *Negara: the Theater State in Nineteenth Century Bali* (1980). Geertz identified ritual and pageantry as the core of the Balinese power structure. The Geertzian legacy is clear, for example, in the work of Jonathan Goldberg who, with others, has established that, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, 'power [was] manifested in spectacle'.[2]

[1]Andrew Gurr, ed., *King Henry V* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[2]Clifford Geertz, *Negara: the Theater State in Nineteenth Century Bali* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980); Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of English Literature* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1983),p.149. There are many recent studies concerned with the relationship between power and ceremony. See for example, David Cannadine and Simon Price, eds., *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987),p.1; ; Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (London: Yale University Press, 1992),pp.5-6; Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth* (London:

The Shakespeare quotation from *Henry V* (1599) makes it clear that contemporaries were aware of the power/ceremony relationship, as do Henry Wotton's comments on the Venetian Corpus Christi procession of May 1606:

> The reasons for this extraordinary solemnity were two, as I conceive it. First to contain the people in good order with superstition, the foolish band of obedience. Secondly, to let the Pope know (who wanteth not intelligencers) that notwithstanding his interdict, they had friars enough and other clergymen to furnish the day.[1]

The relationship between power and ceremonial is clearly central to the royal funeral rituals that are the concern of this thesis. Renaissance royal funerals, together with royal entries and coronations, made up the ritual aspect of the succession process. The staging of the royal funeral was inevitably bound up with the issues of succession politics.

The History of Death and Death Rituals

It was Phillipe Ariès's ambitious studies of western attitudes towards death, in particular *L'Homme devant la mort* (1977), that sparked off much of the recent interest in the history of death. One of the key factors which Ariès identifies as a contributor to changes in historical attitudes towards death is the degree of awareness of the

Thames & Hudson, 1977; repr.1987).

[1]L.P. Smith ed., *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907),I,350

individual in human society.[4] His wide-ranging text answered the call made in the late 1940s by the influential *Annales* School for historians to recreate 'la vie affective' of the past.[5] Ariès's discursive and highly provocative work contrasts markedly with the approaches of main-stream French historians such as Michelle Vovelle, Pierre Chaunu and François Lebrun whose research is solidly rooted in the statistical analysis of death and burial records, population figures and wills.[6]

The first historian to deal specifically with elite funeral rituals was Ralph Giesey in his *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (1960).[7] Giesey identifies the funeral of Francis I (d. 1547) as the apotheosis of French royal death ritual and concentrates on tracing its development up to that point. Francis I's funeral is seen as a ritual manifestation of the sixteenth century politico-legal theory of the king's two bodies, which was so

[4]Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* trans. by Helen Weaver (London: Allen Lane, 1981) first published as *L'Homme Devant la Mort* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1977).

[5]John McManners, 'Death and the French Historians', in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the social History of Death*, ed. by Joachim Whaley (London: Europa Publications, 1981),pp.106-130.

[6]Michel Vovelle, *Mourir Autrefois: Attitudes Collectives devant la mort aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* ([Paris (?)]: Editions Gallimore/ Julliard, 1974); François Lebrun, *Les Hommes et la mort en Anjou aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris: Mouton, 1971); Pierre Chaunu, 'Mourir à Paris, XV^e,XVII^e,XVIII^e siècles', *Annales E.S.C.*,31 (1976),29-50.

[7]Ralph Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: Droz, 1960).

eloquently expounded by Giesey's mentor, Ernst Kantorowicz.[9]

There has been no equivalent study of English royal funerals in the Renaissance. Paul Fritz has discussed English royal obsequies in terms of the distinction between 'public' and 'private' funerals, demonstrating the shift from the elaborate, ostentatious pre-Restoration funerals to more restrained post-Restoration practices, but concentrates on the latter.[9] His emphasis on decline may owe something to Lawrence Stone whose essay on elite funerals in *The Crisis of the Aristocracy* (1965) generated recent scholarly interest in the social history of death in England. Stone's interest is in expenditure on funerals and he identifies a decline in the incidence of elaborate funeral ritual from about the 1580s, attributing it to, 'a profound change in the accepted forms of symbolic justification'. According to Stone, the cost of elaborate funerals came to be considered out of proportion to the prestige earned.[10]

More recent and more extensive is Clare Gittings's *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (1984),

[9]The only other study of French royal funerals rejects the *néo-cérémonialism* that regards ritual as a legitimate field for political analysis. See Alain Boureau, *L'impossible sacralité des souverains français XV' - XVIII' siècles* (Paris: Les Editions de Paris, 1988).

[9]Paul S. Fritz, 'From 'Public' to 'Private': the Royal Funerals in England, 1500-1830', in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, ed. by Joachim Whaley (London: Europa Publications, 1981), pp.61-79.

[10]Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp.572-581 (p.578). Mervyn James's essay on Tudor funerals in his *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) is discussed in chapter 2, pp.81-7.

the first comprehensive English social history of death to deal with the Renaissance period.[11] Her book shows the influence of both Ariès and Stone in looking at the decline in the incidence of elaborate funeral ritual in early modern England. She explains it in terms of the development of the nuclear family and the parallel growth of affective individualism, in an argument which draws heavily on another work by Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage*.[12] In the late Middle Ages the funeral ritual is seen as a manifestation of increased individualism. Later, however, the same ritual became, according to Gittings, a suppressant of individualism. Thus elaborate funerals declined in the seventeenth century and became virtually extinct in the eighteenth.

Gittings herself admits that her use of the term 'individualism' is anachronistic. It superimposes a twentieth century model onto Renaissance funeral rituals. Further, it is a development in western philosophy which is difficult to locate in any particular period. This has been illustrated by a recent debate amongst historians provoked by Alan Macfarlane, who has pushed the origins of individualism as far back as the early Middle Ages.[13] 'Individualism' does not seem, therefore, to be the most useful concept in terms of the study of funeral ritual and

[11]Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1984).

[12]Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, 2nd edn (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979).

[13]Alan Macfarlane, *The Origins of English Individualism: The Family: The Family, Property and Social Transition* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978).

it is avoided in this thesis, which concentrates on contemporary modes of analysis.

Much more useful is Gittings's identification and analysis of the primary function of the elite funeral: the healing of the rift in a community caused by the death of its leader. Here Gittings shows the influence of postmodernist approaches to the study of ritual. Modernist studies, such as Giesey's work on the French royal funerals, focus on the structure of ritual as a vehicle for ideological propaganda. Recent work on ritual, drawing heavily on methods developed in the field of anthropology, emphasizes ritual as process rather than as a static structure.

The Functional Analysis of Ritual

Victor Turner has provided a model for the analysis of ritual as process in his *The Anthropology of Performance* (1987).[14] The model comprises four main phases of public action: (i) *breach* of the regular norm-governed social relations; (ii) *crisis*, during which there is a tendency for the breach to widen; (iii) *redressive action*, the performance of public ritual, and (iv) *reintegration* of the disturbed social group. The whole ritual process is characterized by what Turner calls liminality, the *limen* being the threshold between more or less stable phases of

[14]In this work Turner develops a model first expounded in his *Drama, Fields and Metaphors* (London: Cornell University Press, 1974),pp.38-42.

social process.[15] The parallel between Gittings's functional analysis of elite funeral ritual and Turner's ritual process is clear. The breach and crisis equate with the fatal illness and death of the ruler of a community and the funeral rituals with redressive action and reintegration.

The functional analysis of ritual has also drawn on sociological models in its attempt to illuminate the relationship between power and pageantry . Some have seen ritual as paradigmatic of the sociologist Emile Durkheim's concept of 'collective effervescence'. This refers to the need felt by all societies to uphold and reaffirm at regular intervals the collective sentiments and collective ideas which make its unity and personality. Thus ritual is seen as a consensual manifestation of cultural and political identity.[16] Durkheim's model recognizes deeper psychological motives but over-simplifies and homogenizes ritual experience. Stephen Lukes takes issue with this type of interpretation and convincingly argues that ritual is about the 'mobilization of bias', that is propaganda on behalf of a particular value system or systems. The liminality of ritual or, expressed another way, the social

[15]Victor Turner, *The Anthropology of Performance* (New York: P.A.J. Publications, 1987). Turner's model is an elaboration of the Van Gennepian tripartite model of separation, marginal period and reincorporation. Similarly, Turner's *limen* equates with Van Gennep's *marges de transition*. See Arthur Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans by. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (London: Routledge, 1960),pp.15-26.

[16]E. Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* trans. by J. W. Swain (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1915),p.375; Lukes,pp.292-3.

instability that it embraces, means that the potential for subversion is built into the ceremonial occasion. Ritual is a medium for factional activity.[17] Yet, while Lukes's model usefully allows for the operation of conflicting interests on any particular ritual occasion, it tends to restrict analysis of the motivations for participation in ritual to the political sphere.[18]

Literary critics have turned their attention to ritual criticism in recent years, reflecting a postmodern expansion of the range of material seen as worthy of study evident in both discourse analysis and historicism. These critics, like Stephen Lukes, have tended to focus on ritual's political dimensions. There has been a tendency, particularly amongst cultural materialists, to see the relationship between power and pageantry simply in terms of processes of 'mystification', a term employed to describe the use of ritual by the ruling elite to exploit and manipulate the lower classes.

The materialist critic Jonathan Dollimore has revived the 'subversion-containment' debate which has been much discussed in relation to ritual folk rebellion or carnival. Where Trotsky regarded carnival as a steam valve process

[17]Woodbridge,p.22. See also David McMullen, 'Bureaucrats and Cosmology: the Ritual code of T'ang China', in Cannadine (1987),pp.181-236 (p.238).

[18]Stephen Lukes, *Essays in Social Theory* (London: [n. pub.], 1987),pp.62,68-9. For an example of ritual analysis using the 'mobilization of bias' model, see D. N. Cannadine, 'Conflict and Consensus on a Ceremonial Occasion: The Diamond Jubilee in Cambridge in 1897', *Historical Journal*, 24 (1981),111-146.

which preserved the established social order and put a brake on the emergence of a revolutionary consciousness, Marx saw carnival behaviour as inherently subversive and a step towards the development of a revolutionary class consciousness.[9] More recently Michael Bristol has seen carnival as representative of popular culture's resistance to penetration and control.[10]

Yet the materialist critics ignore the deeper questions of 'how' ritual operates, what attracts people to take part, why people permit or submit themselves to be thus exploited, if indeed they do. This is certainly not to deny the value of the functional analysis of ritual which has an important role in this thesis, but merely to state that there are other questions that need to be asked to create the whole picture.

[9]Jonathan Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Drama and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf,1984),pp.xx-xii. The debate is usefully summarized by Linda Woodbridge in her introduction to Linda Woodbridge and Edward Berry eds., *True Rites and Maimed Rites: Ritual and Anti-Ritual in Shakespeare and His Age* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992),pp.15-16. See also Barbara A. Babcock, *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978),pp.22-3.

[10]Michael D. Bristol, *Carnival and the Theatre: Plebian Culture and the Structure of Authority in Renaissance England* (London: Methuen, 1985),p.4.

The Totalizing Approach: Charisma, Symbols and Ambiguity

Burke has encouraged scholars to look at how systems of belief operate in social groups, whether by processes of imposition or of response to demand.[11] Cannadine has similarly wondered how it is a ruling class can persuade subjects to acquiesce in a manifestly unequal distribution of power.[12] What lies behind these remarks is a recognition that a two-way exchange is involved in power relations, that there is an inter-play between ruler and ruled. Both Burke and Geertz have investigated how ceremonial can confer charisma on a ruler.[13] Their work begins to take account of the fact that both participants and spectators respond to ritual experience in a variety of ways which are not confined to the political and ideological arenas.

Where materialist analysis relates to the cognitive level, revisionist anthropological approaches to the study of ritual have aimed at a totalising view which embraces the cognitive, affective and conative.[14] Affective, conative

[11]Peter Burke,pp.11-3.

[12]Cannadine (1987),p.19.

[13]Clifford Geertz, 'Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power', in *Culture and Its Creators: Essays in Honor of Edward Shils*, ed. by Joseph Ben-David and Terry Nichols Clark (London: University of Chicago Press, 1977),pp.150-171 (p.151); Burke (1992),p.11.

[14]Acknowledging his debt to Wilhelm Dilthey's work on *Weltanschauung*, Turner has emphasized that experience involves 'a many-faceted yet coherent system dependent on the interaction and interpenetration of cognition, affect and volition', see Turner (1987),pp.81,85. See also Gilbert Lewis, *Day of Shining Red: An Essay on Understanding Ritual* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980),p.34; Cannadine

and cognitive factors in ritual experience are all inter-dependent. The key to understanding their interaction lies in the feature of ritual that brings the various experiential modes together: symbols. The multi-sensory appeal of symbols engages participants and spectators alike. Stanley Tambiah has argued that through this process, ritual creates 'heightened, intensified and fused communication' and labels the result 'higher-order experiences'.[15] Yet the nature of the communication will differ from individual to individual: no two people respond to symbols in exactly the same way. Therein lies the power of the symbol. The qualities of multivalency, multivocality and ambiguity inherent in symbols enable them to draw together the multifarious experiences of individuals, shaping them into the homogeneity that is required on ritual occasions.

Because symbols do not mean the same things to different people and no one meaning is either explicitly included or excluded, all meanings, conscious and unconscious, can be embraced. Many meanings, even those pertaining to one individual, will be conflictual. An open grave can symbolize both death and resurrection. Thus symbols often embody paradox. Elizabeth Tonkin suggests that it is paradox which makes symbols so compelling. I prefer to replace the term 'paradox' with 'ambiguity' which has a

(1987),p.17; Barbara Myerhoff, 'A death in due time: Construction of self and culture in ritual drama', in *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle*, ed. by John J. MacAloon (Philadelphia: I.S.H.I., 1984),p.199.

[15]Turner (1987),p.40; S. J. Tambiah, *Culture, Thought and Social Action* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985),p.243.

broader application to symbolic meaning, including the non-conflictual as well as the conflictual. Through ambiguity ritual transcends the specific meanings and motives, and generates the impression of consensus. The manifestation of ambiguity in the ritual context is a creative act which both expresses and is power.[16] As Geertz puts it, 'the trappings of rule and its substance are like mass and energy continually being transformed into each other'. Imagined power creates power: 'The real is as imagined as the imaginary'.[17]

A COMBINED APPROACH: DEFINING MY THEORETICAL POSITION

'Sublimation': Accommodating both the Political and the Affective Dimensions of Ritual

In my analysis of royal funerals in Renaissance England, I take an approach which sees participants and spectators as individuals each experiencing a different mix of conscious and unconscious motivations in the realm of feeling as well as thought. Such an approach recognizes that these national rites of passage, to borrow Van Gennep's term, are not only political occasions but also manifest profound emotional and psychological dimensions. The death of the monarch, head of

[16]Elizabeth Tonkin, 'Masks and Powers', *Man*, n.s.14 (1979),237-48. Goldberg agrees that it is 'precisely in ambiguity that power resides',pp.11-12. See also D. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power* (London: Yale University Press, 1988),p.10.

[17]Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretative Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983),p.124. See also Geertz (1980),p.104 and figure 1.

1. Caricature by Thackeray of Rigaud's Portrait of Louis XIV.

the social body of the kingdom, functions as a macrocosmic version of the death of the subject. The national instability that surrounds succession mirrors the inner disturbance engendered by the individual human encounter with transience and death. The royal funeral, more than other royal succession rituals, taps into the core of human experience.

Scholars have expressed the relationship between the political and emotional aspects of ritual in different ways. Stanley Tambiah's concept of *indexical symbols*, for example, see symbols as operating on both the ideological or cosmological level, where they satisfy human cravings for 'truth' and order, and in the real political world where they directly affect the participants, 'creating, affirming or legitimating their social positions and power'.[11]

I have found Max Gluckman's term *sublimation* more useful for expressing the relationship between the micro-functions of the symbolic elements of ritual and the macro-functions of the resultant display. Gluckman's term refers to the physical energy that is 'evoked by a set of symbolical physiological referents and transposed to strengthen social and moral values which are simultaneously exhibited in [...] symbols'.[11]

[11]Tambiah,p.156. Tambiah acknowledges a debt to A. W. Burks's, 'Icon, Index and Symbol', *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 9 (4) (1949),673-89.

[11]Mary Gluckman and Max Gluckman, 'On Drama, Games and Athletic Contests', in Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff, eds., *Secular Ritual* (Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1977),pp.227-243 (p.234).

Gluckman's *sublimation* is a valuable alternative to the materialist term *mystification* because it accounts for the two-way operation of ritual performances, providing an explanation for attendance at rituals which does not reduce all participants, including observers, to the level of exploited pawns. It recognizes that an individual or community may gain emotional benefits from participation in ritual.

This is not to say that I ignore the political implications of royal funeral ritual. While the affective motivations of participants are interesting and worthy of investigation, for the organizers of ritual it is the impression of consensus that is important and not the feelings or beliefs of individuals taking part. The very fact that attendance at a ritual can have many motivations other than political support is of value to its organizers. While political support is not a necessary corollary of attendance, the very presence of an observer, nonetheless, functions as a demonstration of political consensus in the eyes of others.[11] Royal funerals, as I shall demonstrate, can thus be used as a vehicle for political propaganda or, to borrow Lukes's term, the mobilization of bias.

The need for a combined approach can be illustrated by addressing the issue of the disruption of ritual. The impression of consensus is only lost by deliberately disruptive behaviour by participants, by booing, for

[11]As Goldberg puts it, 'the spectacle of state combines deception and display, both the show of participation and genuine participation',p.30.

example.[11] Yet the propensity for disruptive behaviour will be small because the complicity of participants and observers in ritual is rooted in deep human desires for order, stability and predictability: desires which create inertia against social disruption and change, even where participants are in a manifestly oppressive situation.[12] Further, taking part in a ritual, even for the lower social groups, always involves the conferment of status and identity, increasing its attraction for participants.[13] Ritual thus has a strong collective dimension and functions by linking the individual to society in a process which generates order. Where disruptive behaviour does occur, it is illuminating. In addition to demonstrating political conflict, discrepant behaviour, as Jacques Derrida has argued, can provide a key to the very nature of the human process itself.[14]

[11]Jack Goody, 'Against "Ritual": Loosely Structured Thoughts on a Loosely Defined Topic', in Moore and Myerhoff,pp.25-35 (p.33). See also Kertzer,p.11.

[12]Woodbridge,p.16.

[13]Lewis,p.12.

[14]Turner (1987),pp.73-4.

Ritual and Theatre

The key role played by the representation of symbols and the display of ambiguity illustrates that the generation of political power through ritual is an inherently theatrical and performative act.[35] The evocative presentational style of ritual with its symbols and sensory stimuli, multivalence and patterning, lends itself to analysis based on performance.[36] Semiotics, the theory of sign symbols developed in the field of drama and theatre criticism, is clearly transferable to the analysis of symbols employed in ritual.[37] Other features which have been identified as distinctive attributes of ritual include: formality; stylization; repetition; the provision of a means of channelling emotion and the provocation of emotional response.[38] All have a strong performative bias and underline the value of the performative approach to the analysis of royal funeral rituals taken in this thesis.

[35]Goldberg,p.xiii. Michael Neill calls funerals 'political theater' in his '"Exeunt with a Dead March": Funeral Pageantry on the Shakespearean Stage', in *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theatre*, ed. by David M. Bergeron ([Atlanta (?)]: University of Georgia Press, 1985),pp.154-61 (p.161).

[36]It is interesting that the OED citations for the earliest use of the word 'symbol', meaning something standing for or representing something else, come from the period of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama: *The Faerie Queene*,II.ii.10 (1590); *Othello*, II.iii.350; Thomas Dekker's *London Triumphing*,III.245.

[37]On semiotics, see Kier Elam, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama* (London: Methuen, 1980).

[38]The following list of the distinctive features of ritual conflates discussions of definition that can be found in Kertzer,pp.8-12; Moore and Myherhoff,pp.7-8; and Tambiah.p.128.

Despite the strong correspondences between ritual and drama, scholars have often concentrated on distinguishing the two forms. Where ritual is intended to image cosmological truths and to emphasize certainty, drama, it has been said, involves deliberate illusion and stresses the uncertainty of the human fate. Where ritual conjoins, drama is disjunctive.[11] Such distinctions seem to depend on the notion of an ideal or fixed ritual form. My thesis demonstrates the converse: ritual performance is as dependent on its political, social and cultural context as the performance of a stage play.[12] Further, ritual, like stage drama, involves a complex web of relations which embrace performers, performances and audiences.[13] Any ritual display will be affected by the interaction of these parties on the day. In other words ritual is also dependent on performance conditions.[14] Thus the major contribution made to literary criticism by cultural materialists and new historicists in terms of interpreting texts in relation to their informing circumstances, has much to offer the analysis of ritual.

[11]Gluckman in Moore and Myherhoff,p.234; Tambiah,p.317; Turner (1987),p.127.

[12]Turner (1987),p.85.

[13]Lewis,p.8.

[14]In this respect my method is in disagreement with the belief that ritual is acted outside time. See Gluckman, in Moore and Myherhoff,p.236. On the important distinction between the 'dramatic text' and the 'performance text' in recent literary criticism, see Elam,pp.2-3,208.

Ritual and Tradition

My claims for the cultural and performative contingency of ritual gain support from the recent debate over the natural propensity ritual displays have towards tradition and stasis and the degree to which they are flexible. Tradition itself is a more complex concept than it might seem. Raymond Williams defines tradition not as, 'an inert, historicized segment of social structure' but as a '*selective tradition*: an intentionally selective version of a shaping past and a pre-shaped present, which is then powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification'.[13]

Sally F. Moore similarly argues that while ritual possesses a marked tendency towards order and harmony, it is nevertheless in a continual state of flux and transformation. She defines two complementary processes by which the flexibility of ritual is manifested: regularization and situational adjustment. Sometimes the organizers of a ritual are not clear about the details of its precedents and put it together as they see fit (regularization). On other occasions the organizers deliberately alter ritual forms (situational adjustment).[14]

[13]Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxfrod University Press, 1977),p.115.

[14]Sally Falk Moore, *Law as Process: An Anthropological Approach* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978),pp.48-53. See also Woodbridge,p.18.

Ritual and Drama

While there have been several studies of death in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, few have looked at funeral ritual.[15] Theodore Spencer's *Death and Elizabethan Tragedy* usefully provides a list of plays which included funeral processions. He makes no attempt, however, to relate stage representations of funerals to their equivalents in public ceremony. Two recent studies do take an historical perspective in their study of funeral rituals in drama. James Holleran in his 'Maimed Funeral Rites in *Hamlet*' begins with prescribed funeral rites and analyses the ways in which Shakespeare distorts them. Holleran demonstrates how an awareness of those differences can enrich our response to the play.[16] In his '"Feasts Put Down Funerals": Death and Ritual in Renaissance Comedy', Michael Neill also demonstrates an awareness of the forms and functions of Renaissance funeral ritual but his main interest lies in genre, that is the presence of the tragic

[15]Recent studies of death in Renaissance drama include: Harry Morris, *Last Things in Shakespeare* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1985); Arnold Stein, *The House of Death: Messages from the English Renaissance* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1986); James L. Calderwood, *Shakespeare and the Denial of Death* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987); Phoebe S. Spinrad, *The Summons of Death on the Renaissance English Stage* (1987); Michael Cameron Andrews, *This Action of Our Death: Performance of Death in English Renaissance Drama* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989); Kirby Farrell, *Play, Death and Heroism in Shakespeare* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); Theodore Spencer, *Death and Elizabethan Tragedy: A Study in Convention and Opinion in the Elizabethan Drama* (New York: Harvard University Press, 1936; repr. New York: Pageant Books, 1960).

[16]James V. Holleran, 'Maimed Funeral Rites in *Hamlet*', *English Literary Renaissance* 19 (1989). 78-93 (p.67).

in comedies."

The studies of stage representations of funerals and funeral symbolism in my Epilogue strike new critical ground in two ways. Firstly, I am able to build on the material made available by the main part of my thesis which provides a vital key to the contemporary audience experience of stage representations of funerals and funeral symbolism." My approach aims, as far as possible, to recapture the effect and impact these representations had in original performance. Secondly, I recognize that the relationship between ritual and theatre is reciprocal. While both Neill and Holleran feed a knowledge of Renaissance funeral ritual in the real world into their discussion of representations of funeral ritual in drama, neither considers how dramatic representations may in turn comment on the 'real' world of public ceremony and power politics. My analysis demonstrates that dramatists made many contemporary allusions in their representations of funeral ritual. In addition dramatists probed the deeper issues of the nature and status of ritual, of ritual in drama, and of drama itself.

As the last point indicates, my approach begins to answer the recent call for more scholarly attention to be focused

"Michael Neill, '"Feasts Put Down Funerals": Death and Ritual in Renaissance Comedy', in *True Rites and Maimed Rites: Ritual and Anti-Ritual in Shakespeare and His Age*, ed. by Linda Woodbridge and Edward Berry (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992),pp.47-74. He similarly concentrates on genre questions in his earlier essay, see Neill (1985).

"As Elam has said, 'It is with the spectator [...] that theatrical communication begins and ends',p.97.

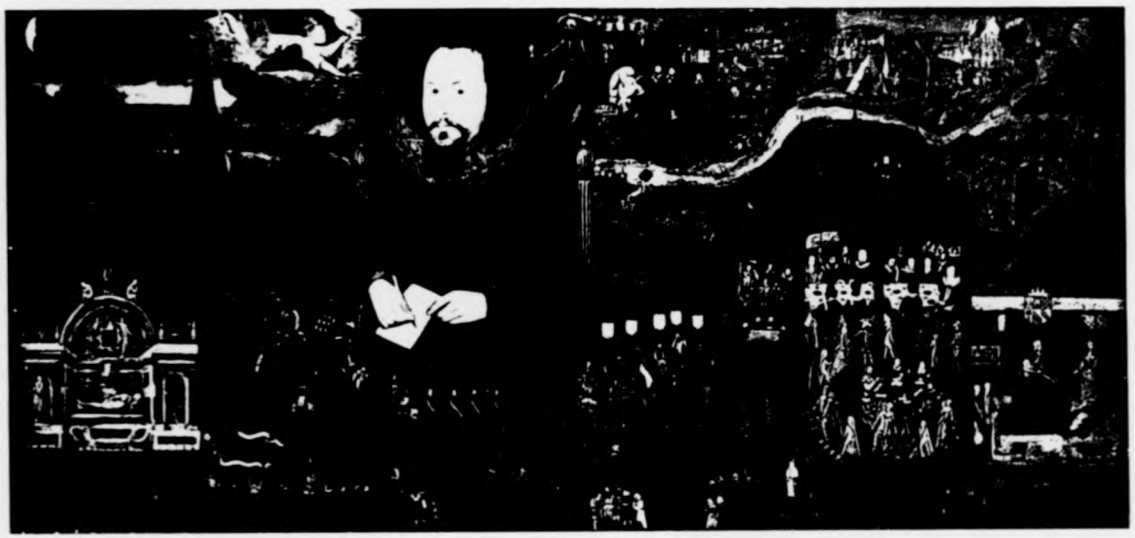
on the relationship between theatre and ritual."[11] In part I see an interrogative role for drama. Theatre in early modern England shared the liminal quality that is a key attribute of ritual, but where subversive elements are suppressed on ritual occasions, in drama they are pushed to the surface, making it an ideal medium for investigating and exposing ritual processes."[12] In addition, however, I identify a significant early modern concern with the close correspondences between ritual, particularly religious ritual, and drama. For many in early modern England the relative status of the two forms was as problematic as it is today.

THE THEATRE OF DEATH: AN OUTLINE

Elite funerals in Renaissance England were an extended process with a number of distinct performance arenas. A striking visual representation of these various arenas survives in the form of the *Henry Unton Memorial* portrait (1596) (figure 2). The painting simultaneously celebrates the life and commemorates the death of Sir Henry Unton, who represented England on two embassies to France, the second

[11]Linda Woodbridge and Edward Berry, eds., *True Rites and Maimed Rites: Ritual and Anti-Ritual in Shakespeare and His Age* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

[12]Holleran,p.65 n.2; Steven Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage: License, Play and Power in Renaissance England* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1988),pp.8-9,21-2,31-1,47,55; Woodbridge,p.31.

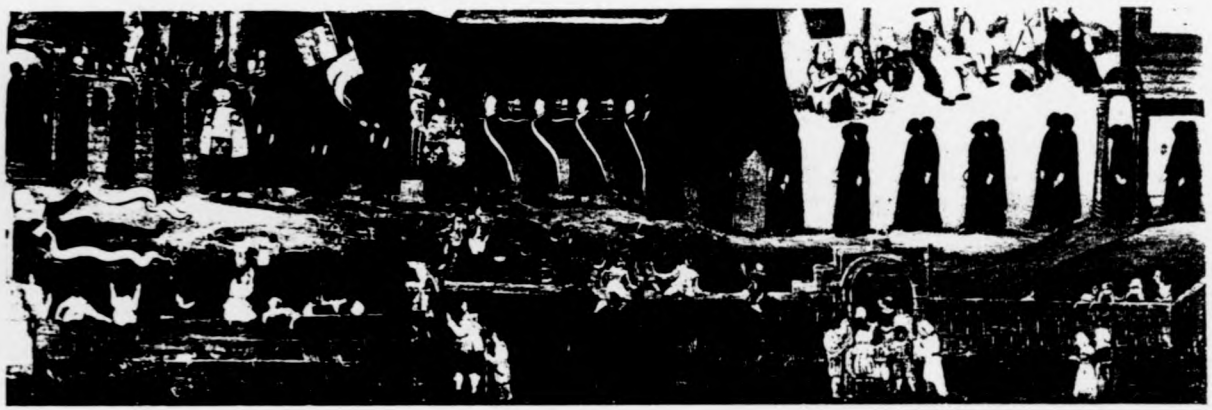


2. The *Henry Unton Memorial* portrait (1596), National Portrait Gallery.

of which (1595-6) culminated in his death. The black-draped ship that carried his corpse across the English Channel is depicted in the top right hand portion of the painting (figure 3). The funeral cortège with its horse-drawn chariot bearing the coffin covered with a black pall and mourners on horseback are shown leaving the coast. To the left of the painting is the church where Unton's funeral took place. The funeral procession moves across the foreground of the painting, from right to left, before a crowd of onlookers, some, the poor, cripples and the blind, beneficiaries of Unton's charity (figure 4). Mourners are crowded inside the church for the burial service, which took place four months after Unton's death (figure 5). In the lower left section of the portrait is the Unton monument, perhaps a representation of that finally erected at Faringdon in 1606, complete with an effigy reclining on a tomb. The coffin and viscera chest are visible in the grave below (figure 6).[51] The Unton portrait thus presents an overall scheme for the elite, or heraldic, funeral: embalming; funeral journey; procession; church services; and the construction of a permanent memorial. To these it is only necessary to add the lying-in-state that often preceded the funeral procession and the feast that followed the church services.

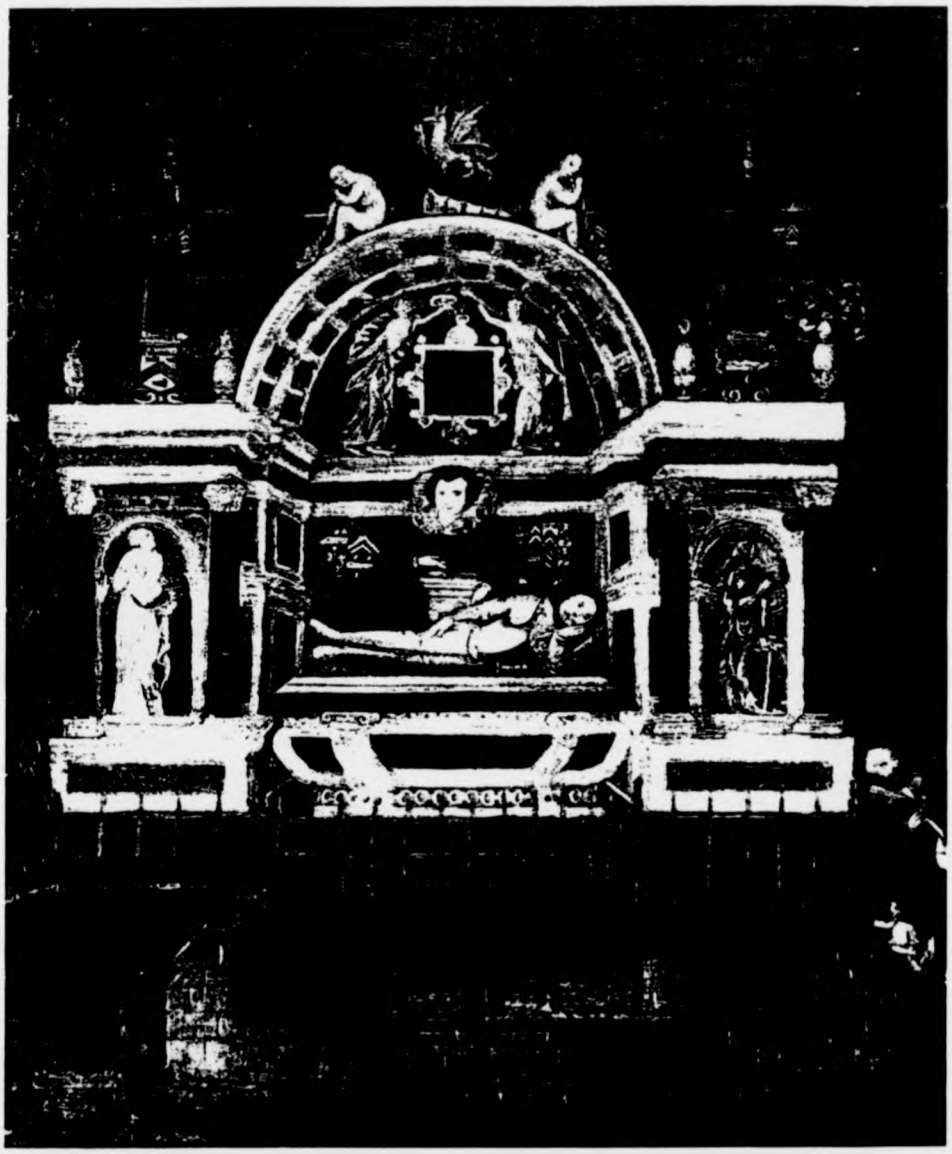
[51]The accuracy in the rendition of the funeral complete with its numerous and complex coats of arms suggest that the picture may well have been the work of a herald. See Roy Strong, 'Sir Henry Unton and His Portrait: An Elizabethan Memorial Picture and Its History' *Archaeologia* xcix (1965),pp.53-76; and Strong (1977),pp.84-110. For a contemporary description of the stages of the heraldic funeral, see Sir William Segar, *Honour Military and Civill* (London, [n. pub.],1602),p.242.

3. The *Henry Unton Memorial* portrait (detail). Sir Henry's body is carried home from Dover to Wadley. At home the villagers mourn his death.



4. The *Henry Unton Memorial* portrait (detail). The funeral procession to Faringdon church.

5. The *Henry Unton Memorial* portrait (detail). Faringdon church is packed with people listening to the funeral sermon.



6. The *Henry Unton Memorial* portrait (detail). The burial vault of Sir Henry Unton at Faringdon, Oxfordshire. Within the vault can be seen Unton's coffin (right) and viscera chest (left).

The royal funerals that are the main subject of this thesis followed the same form as the heraldic funeral outlined above. In order to facilitate understanding of the later chapters which deal with individual royal funeral occasions, chapter 1 offers the reader a basic account of the two main performance arenas of the heraldic funeral, the funeral procession and the church services. I look at the visual codes and symbolism employed in these parts of the funeral ritual process, using an approach that assesses their operation in both the political and the affective spheres. Embalming, funeral journeys and monument construction are relatively unproblematic areas and will be discussed in relation to specific examples in the chapters that follow. In contrast, the royal lying-in-state ritual is complex but since it is central to much of the discussion of royal funeral rituals, in particular those of Elizabeth and James, it is not dealt with until those chapters.

There are practical difficulties with basing an introductory chapter on the evidence of royal funerals. Source material relating to royal funeral church services is limited with no extant account of the services at the funeral of Elizabeth and Edward VI, and restricted material relating to those of Mary Tudor, Henry VII and Henry VIII. For a more detailed account we need to go right back to Edward IV. Further, while we possess a detailed account of the church services held at the funeral of James I, there are crucial features of this occasion which can only be understood in relation to non-royal heraldic funeral practice. It is necessary, therefore, to establish the non-royal form first.

As far as funeral processions are concerned, although differences exist between royal and non-royal heraldic funerals, these are largely differences of degree rather than kind. Crucial differences in procession composition are highlighted in the course of discussion and a transcript of Elizabeth's funeral procession is provided in Appendix I. The most significant way that the royal funeral differed from its heraldic counterpart was in the use of a life-like effigy of the defunct. It will be useful for the reader to have an understanding of the basic forms and functions of the heraldic funeral before embarking on the consideration of the functions and symbolism of the effigy in the royal funerals. The effigy rituals will constitute a major part of the discussion in later chapters.

For the reasons outlined above and in the interests of clarity and coherence I have chosen to present a non-royal heraldic funeral in its entirety in chapter 1. This will serve as the basis for analysis of the form and functions of elite funeral processions and church services. The funeral selected is that of the Edward, Earl of Derby, because detailed records of this funeral survive and because it occurs in 1572, before the royal funerals that will be discussed but after the Reformation.

It is my contention that the iconophobic impulses of the Reformation had profound implications for Renaissance royal funeral rituals, with their heavy reliance on the operation of symbols. It is impossible to understand these rituals without placing them within the context of the Reformation

and post-Reformation attitudes to ritual and images. Thus, although the temporal parameters of this study, as far as the detailed discussion of specific royal funerals is concerned, are 1570-1625, chapter 2 deals with the impact of the Reformation on Renaissance funeral ritual. In any case, it is now generally accepted by historians that the Reformation was more than a mid-sixteenth century phenomenon. No recent scholarship has claimed that England was Protestant pre-1558. It was with the accession of Elizabeth that Protestantism became firmly institutionalized and that a coherent programme of Protestantism was worked out and adopted by Church and government. The programme of changes, including those relating to religious ceremony, introduced by the reformed Church extended well into the 1570s and 1580s.[11]

Once the Anglican church had achieved an established coherence, its position on ceremony continued to have implications for the development of funeral ritual well into the seventeenth century.[11] Chapter 6 looks at cultural change under the early Stuarts, focusing on the relationship between art and religion, and the rise of Arminianism. These developments in religious and cultural sensibility are shown to interact with changes in funeral ritual.

[11]In the light of this it is, perhaps, unsurprising that Jennifer Loach, in her recently published essay, 'The Function of Ceremonial in the Reign of Henry VIII', *Past and Present*, 142 (February, 1994),43-68, concludes that contemporary politico-religious issues had a negligible impact on the funeral ceremony of Henry VIII.

[11]Rosemary O'Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation* (London: Methuen, 1986),pp.2;153.

Chapter 3 looks at the other important model for the analysis of English royal funeral practice: French royal funerals. The survey is necessarily brief but provides useful material for comparison with English practice and establishes the ground for subsequent discussions of possible cross-fertilization, which was largely facilitated by the presence of English ambassadors at French funeral ceremonies.

Chapters 4, 5, 8, 9 and 10 look in turn at the funeral rituals staged for Mary Queen of Scots (1587), Elizabeth I (1603), Henry Prince of Wales (1612), Queen Anne of Denmark (1619) and James I (1625). In each case I consider the whole discourse of funeral ritual including, where appropriate, tombs, engravings and funeral effigies as well as funeral processions and church services. I look at the performance conditions pertaining to each funeral and attempt to place them within a wider political and cultural context. The reciprocal celebration of royal funerals by the major European powers, France, Spain and England, is also considered, particularly in relation to the funeral of Mary Stuart.[11] English royal funeral ritual is thus seen within its wider European context. My method is always rooted in a thorough investigation of the available source material. The theoretical positions that I take grow out of my assessment of the historical evidence.

[11]The funeral of Charles V (d. 1558), for example, was celebrated in Brussels but obsequies were also held at Westminster Abbey. See College of Arms, I Series MS XIV fols 3-6; CSPD,I (1558-59),35,38,40-1,49,66; William Camden, *The Historie of the most renowned and victorious Princesse Elizabeth, late Queene of England* (London: Benjamin Fisher, 1630),p.16.

The Epilogue studies of stage drama all concentrate on single scenes or passages: *Henry VI Part I* Act I Scene i, *The Revenger's Tragedy* Act III Scene v, and *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* Act IV Scene iv and Act V Scene ii. My approach varies in accordance with the nature of the material in question. The two latter studies, for example, look closely at contemporary allusion. Consistency lies, however, in the aim to recreate, as far as possible, the original effect of stage representations of funeral ritual and funeral symbolism.

The temporal limits of my thesis, 1570-1625, have been set with various considerations in mind: the incidence of royal funerals; my interest in the impact of the Reformation; the potential for comparative analysis with French royal funeral rituals; and the availability of source material. Also of crucial significance is the overlap between ritual and stage drama which occurs in the chosen period.

THE HERALDIC FUNERAL IN RENAISSANCE ENGLAND

THE FORM AND FUNCTIONS OF THE HERALDIC FUNERAL PROCESSION

In this chapter I seek to establish the basic forms and functions of the Elizabethan funeral, together with the motivations which lay behind participation and observation of funeral occasions. Much of the analysis focuses on the funeral of Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby, Privy Councillor and Knight of the Garter (d. 1572), a funeral for which detailed records survive, although other funeral occasions will be referred to in order to broaden the overall picture.[1] The Derby funeral took six weeks to organize and there were around nine hundred participants. The procession escorted the body of the late Earl from Latham House, where he had died, to the parish church at Ormskirk, Lancashire, a distance of two miles.[2]

At the head of the procession came two yeomen conductors dressed in black coats and bearing black staves, leading the way for a group of one hundred poor men wearing gowns of coarse cloth, marching two by two (figure 7). Next marched the forty boys and men of the choir dressed in their

[1]This account is given in Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 836 fols 215-223; Arthur Collins, *The Peerage of England*, 8 vols (London: [n. pub.], 1779),III,55-62 which, in turn, was taken from a manuscript in the library of John Anstis, Esq., Garter King of Arms. It is referred in Stone (1965),pp.573-4; and also Cunnington and Lucas, *Costume for Births, Marriages and Deaths* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1972),p.219 and Appendix 5. For further reasons behind the decision to discuss a non-royal funeral in this chapter, see the Introduction,pp.23-4.

[2]Lathom was the Earl's seat, Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975),p.133.

7. Yeomen conductors leading Lady Lumley's funeral (1578), from BL, Additional MS 35324 fol.19. They wear black coats and carry black staves. The almswomen who follow wear black gowns and wired out veils.

8. 'Steward of his house' with white stave of office and deep mourning. Johann Theodor de Bry, engraved illustrations after Thomas Lant's *Funeral of Philip Sidney* (1587).

surplices. There followed an esquire, mounted on horseback, bearing the standard. His horse was trapped 'to the ground' and decorated with a shaffron (the frontlet of a barbed horse) of the defunct's arms in garter and four escutcheons of buckram and metal, two on each side.[3] The horses of the other esquires and heralds, and those that drew the chariot bearing the coffin were similarly trapped and garnished.

The first part of the procession was all on foot but the core of the convoy rode on horseback, beginning with eighty of the Earl's gentlemen mounted 'on comely geldings'. There followed the Earl's two secretaries, fifty knights and esquires, riding two abreast, the two chaplains of the defunct, the preacher, who was the Dean of Chester, and the three chief officers of the Earl's household, the Steward, Treasurer and Comptroller, bearing their white staves of office (figure 8).[4]

The central section of the procession came next, led by an esquire on horseback, trapped as above, carrying the late Earl's great banner. There followed four mounted heralds bearing the dead Earl's achievements, the gorgeous colouring of their tabards strikingly set off by the jet black of their

[3] 'Shaffrons' are described by J. Coats in his *Dict. Her.* (1739),p.73, as, 'those little Shields, containing Death's Heads, and other Funeral Devices, plac'd upon the Foreheads of the Horses, that draw Hearses at Pompous Funerals vulgarly now call'd, by Corruption 'Chaperoons', or 'Shafferoons''. See *OED* (earlier instances are cited).

[4] The gowns worn by the chaplains were probably not mourning but their official garments. They wore hoods 'according to their degrees', in this case, one being a Bachelor of Divinity and the other a Master of Arts.

full-length mourning gowns and hoods.[5] First came Lancaster carrying the Earl's parcel gilt steel helmet and, on a 'wreath or torce (an heraldic wreath) of his colours' his crest 'carved, painted, and wrought in gold and silver'.[6] Norroy followed with the Earl's shield of arms within a garter surmounted by a coronet. Then came Clarenceux with the Earl's sword. Its hilt and chape finely gilt and the scabbard made of velvet, the sword was carried pommel upwards.[7] Finally came Garter bearing another coat of arms 'wrought as the other'. Lancaster, a Herald at Arms, wore the Earl's coat of arms in damask while the remaining three heralds, each of them a King of Arms, wore the coat of arms of England (figure 9 and 10). A gentleman usher, white rod in hand, rode on Garter's left (figure 11).

The heralds directly preceded the coffin which was borne on a chariot draped with a large black velvet pall and drawn by four horses, each mounted by a page. Another gentleman usher, carying a white rod, sat on the fore-seat. The chariot was

[5]In the sixteenth century, the terms 'achievements' and 'hatchments' were interchangeable, referring to the coat of arms, helmet and crest, sword, gauntlets and spurs carried in the funeral procession. In modern heraldic usage a funeral hatchment is a painting of arms of the deceased on a black background hung up over his doorway. A contemporary account of the funeral of James I uses both old and modern senses of 'hatchment'. See CA, I Series MS IV fols 32-45.

[6]The helmet and crest would each have been borne on the point of a lance. See Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fol. 196 and figure 9.

[7]All weapons borne in the obsequies were reversed as they would be in token of truce on the battlefield. He who offered the sword in the church, for example, would be 'holding the poynte thereof in both his handes, the pomell [...] upwards', British Library, Egerton MS 2642 fol.195'. For regulations governing how swords were to be borne in front of persons of varying rank on other ceremonial occasions, see Gerard Legh, *The Accedens of Armory* (London [?]: [n. pub.], 1562),p.161.

9. Sir Philip Sidney's spurs and gauntlets borne at his funeral by officers at arms (though pursuivants, they wear their tabards herald-wise).

10. Mounted herald in a royal tabard at a funeral of a Knight of the Garter, from BL, Additional MS 35324 fol.2. He bears the defunct's sword, point downward.

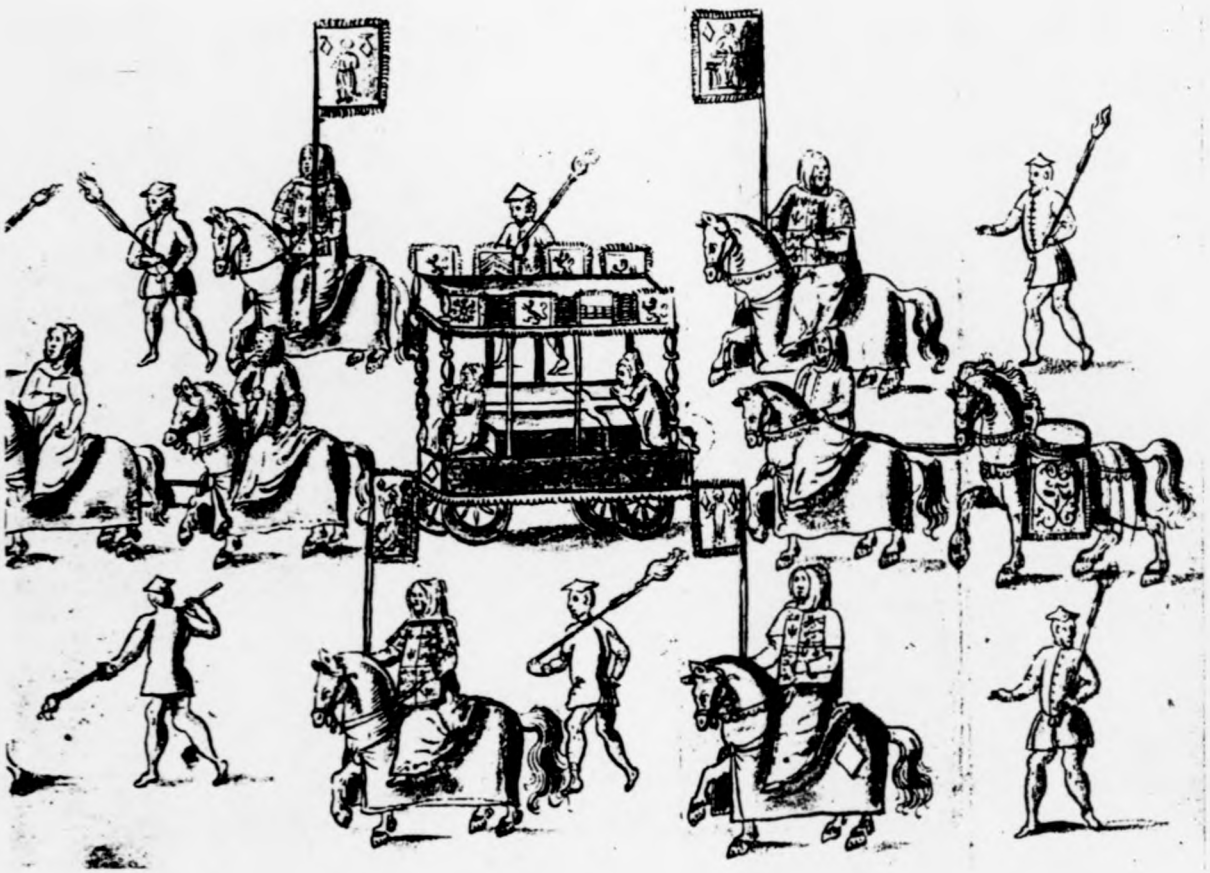
11. Usher with white rod of office, wearing a mourning gown and hood, its tippet over both shoulders, from BL, Additional MS 35324 fol.21.

surrounded by hooded esquires on horseback, four escorting the coffin and six more, outside them, carrying bannerolls (figure 12). (A canopy was borne over or behind the funeral chariot at royal and ducal funerals.)

Behind the chariot rode the chief mourner, the heir of the defunct, wearing the mourning robes of an earl, flanked by two gentleman ushers, also on horseback and bearing their white rods of office. Behind him rode the Gentleman of the Horse of the late Earl, leading the riderless horse of estate, 'all covered and trapped with black velvet. Next came eight other distinguished mourners, headed by Lord Stourton, all of them with family links to the deceased. A single yeoman, bare-headed and on foot, preceded the two sons of the chief mourner, whose horses were led by two gentlemen. This completed the mounted section of the procession.

Two yeomen ushers, bearing white rods like their counterparts, conducted the five hundred yeomen, all in black coats, marching two abreast. All the servants of the gentlemen taking part in the ceremony, walking similarly in pairs, brought up the rear of the procession.

The basic structure of the Derby funeral procession was repeated in the funeral cortèges of noble women but with slight modifications, as is exemplified by that of Lady Katherine Berkeley (d. 1596). Her gender determined that the seventy poor people that marched in her funeral convoy would be women rather than men. All the principal mourners were



12. Funeral of Anne of Cleves (1557), from BL, Additional MS 35324 fol. 8. Two mourners in the chariot with the coffin, herald banner-bearers and the queen's 'fayre white palfrey with a syde saddle'.

women.[8] An Elizabethan ordinance stipulated that, 'a man being deade hee to have only men [principal] mourners at his Buriall And at a woman's buriall to have only women moreners'.[9]

The funeral procession brought together a whole range of social groups: mourners related to the deceased in rank and family; officers and servants of the late Earl's household; his gentlemen retainers; yeomen; the poor and the church choir. The procession was thus a microcosm of the social body, hierarchically organized according to status and degree. Overall the spatial organization of the funeral procession functioned as a statement of continued order and stability. The symbolic core of the procession was the coffin which was also the physical centre of the procession. Gradations of rank built up from the poor at the very beginning of the procession, through to the members of the nobility that immediately surrounded the coffin. The effect was a crescendo building up to a climax of dignity at the centre and then tailing off once the coffin and its immediate entourage had gone by.[10]

Before examining the implications of the hierarchical organization of the funeral procession, it is worth exploring the ways in which the messages of order and stability imparted by the spatial organization of the funeral procession were

[8]Smith, *Lives of the Berkeleys*,II,388-91; cited by Gittings,p.174.

[9]BL, Egerton MS 2642 fol. 183.

[10]Cunnington and Lucas,p.186.

reinforced by its internally operating semiotics or visual codes.

The higher the status of the deceased, the greater the number of overall participants. There were 1,600 participants in Elizabeth's funeral procession which followed the same hierarchical organization as the Derby funeral, simply including participants from a broader range of social groups as befitted the funeral of a monarch, head of the social body.[11] In addition to the poor women and the late Queen's household, from the highest officials down to the servants of the scullery, it incorporated representatives of the nobility, church and civic dignitaries, government officials and ambassadors.

The inclusion of instrumentalists was also used to signal status in funeral processions. Trumpeters featured in the funerals of the higher nobility and royalty, with twelve trumpeters marching at Elizabeth's funeral (figure 13). Trumpets were a symbol of the resurrection.[11] Fifes and drums, draped with black cloth, were a feature of military funerals and were included at the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney (1587) (figure 14). They did not appear in civilian funeral processions, including those of royalty.[11]

[11]John Stow, *The Annales; or, General Chronicle of England begun first by Maister John Stow and after him continued [...] by Edmond Howes* (London: [n. pub.], 1615),p.818; Francis Sandford, *A Genealogical History of the Kings of England and Monarchs of Great Britain* (London: T. Newcombe, 1677),p.497.

[11]Percy A. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962),p.218.

[11]Camden (1630),p.66.

13. Trumpeters in mourning cloaks, from BL, Additional MS 35324 fol.36.

14. Drummers in the funeral procession of Sir Philip Sidney, Johann Theodor de Bry, engraved illustrations after Thomas Lant's *Funeral of Philip Sidney* (1587).

Status was also marked by the numbers within any one group of mourners, for example the number of assistant mourners varied according to the social position of the deceased. In a letter to Sir William Dethick (Garter 1570-1604, d. 1612) Elizabeth, widow of John, Lord Russell, son of the second Earl of Bedford, asked for particulars of the number of mourners due to her at her funeral, as a Viscountess of birth.[14] In the case of assistant mourners, rank was more important than relationship with the defunct, underlining the primacy of display. Randle Holme (1627-99) lists 'the number of m[o]urners at funeralls according to the degree and estate of the defunct' whatever their personal relation to the deceased: 'It[em] Kinge to have murners - xv; It[em] Queene or a Prince - xiii'.[15] Dukes and marquesses had to have eleven principal mourners, earls and viscounts, nine, barons, seven, knights, bannerets or bachelors, five, and esquires or gentlemen, three. Mourners also had to be of an appropriate rank. At the funeral of Lady Katherine Berkley women of lesser rank than required acted as mourners but were dressed according to the higher status.[16]

The tactic used on this occasion to ensure that the right

[14]College of Arms, Vincent MS 151 fol.352.

[15]British Library Harley MS 2129 fol.27. For other examples of such rules see BL Cotton MS Julius B.xii; Lancaster Herald, Nicholas Charles's, 'Book of proceedyng at Funerals, 1613' in British Library, Additional MS 14417; and other manuscripts cited by Gittings,p.243.

[16]Ingram, R. W., ed., *Records of Early Drama: Coventry* (London: Manchester University Press, 1981), Appendix VIII,p.511. See also the funeral of Anne, Duchess of Somerset (1587), F. Tate, 'Of the Antiquity, Variety and Ceremonies of Funerals in England' in T. Hearne ed., *A Collection of Curious Discourses by Eminent Antiquarians upon several Heads in our English Antiquities*, 2 vols (London; [n. pub.], 1771),p.204.

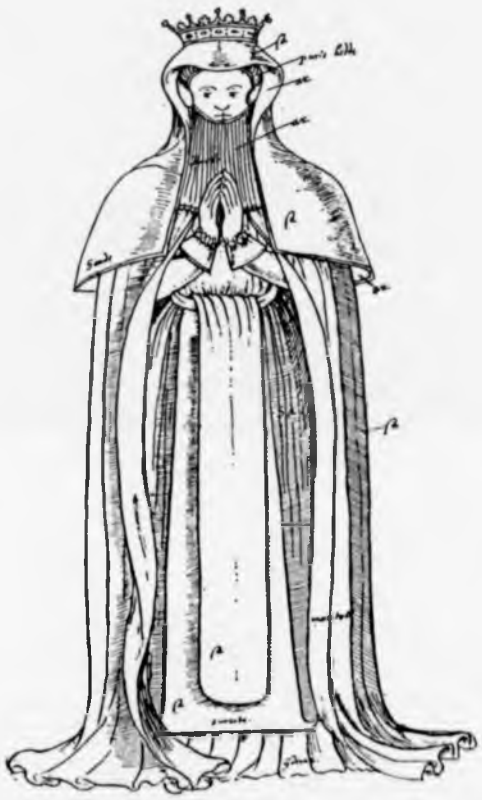
number of mourners of the right rank were present draws attention to another important visual code of the funeral procession: dress.

Basically both men and women wore black, draped gowns. It is true that the very shapes of mourning dress, with its long flowing trains and tippets, are suggestive of weeping, but the actual origins of both male and female mourning costume lie in the early years of the Christian Church.[17] For both genders mourning costume had its origins in the medieval robes of monks, widows and nuns (figure 15). The unfashionable quality of their dress signified their withdrawal from society. Although the thirty torch-bearers at the funeral of Richard II in St.Paul's in 1400 wore white, black was generally accepted as the colour of grief in the fourteenth century. Subsequently, black mourning dress dominated, although reds, browns and greys continued to be worn well into the sixteenth century.[18] Edmund Bolton comments that, 'To mourne inn black is as a nationall a custome, as for the grave'.[19] The profusion of black was extended to the very streets and houses along the processional route. At the funeral of the Earl of Huntingdon (1560), for example, 'the strett [was] hangyd with

[17]The association with weeping is made by Cunnington and Lucas,p.152-4.

[18]Lou Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1988),pp.66,71,252; 'The Death of Queen Jane [Seymour]' in John Goss, ed., *Ballads of Britain* (London: Bodley Head, 1937),p.78. The cloth used at the funeral of Lady Isabel Berkley (1516) was deliberately made to look old, see Ingram, Appendix VIII,p.508. See also C. C. Rolfe, *The Ancient Use of Liturgical Colours* (Oxford: Parker Society, 1879),p.226.

[19]Edmund Bolton, *The Elements of Armories* (London: [n. pub.], 1597),p.131.



15. 'A Countesse in mourninge apparaill', from BL, Harley MS 6064 fol.91. Mantle with a train; surcoat with front train folded over girdle; open mourning hood, black, lined white over Paris head-dress and pleated barbe covering chin c. 1576 but costume established earlier.

blake and armes', transforming it into a theatre of death.[10] The uniformity of black mourning gave the community a group identity and the procession a coherence. It also provided an effective foil to the brilliance of the heraldic insignia and achievements.

English monarchs, however, like their French counterparts, did not mourn in black at the funerals of their subjects, but in purple. It was deemed inappropriate for a reigning sovereign to don the colour of mourning and death. Further, the colour of their robes provided another visual marker separating them from the masses in the funeral procession. Queen Elizabeth's inventory for 1600 included a set of 'Mourning Robes' comprising a mantle, surcoat and bodice of purple velvet trimmed with ermine with details in gold.[11]

The basic symbolic statement of mourning dress, withdrawal from the world, was overlain with a second code operating in the detail of individual costumes and which, in sharp contrast, was very bound up with society.[12] The amount and quality of the fabric used to make mourning costumes was regulated by the College of Arms according to the wearer's rank and social position as well as his function in the funeral proceedings. The following list gives the fabric and livery allowances for noblemen at the funeral of a king or

[10]J. G. Nichols, ed., *The Diary of Henry Machyn* (London: Camden Society, 1848),p.239.

[11]Cunnington and Lucas,p.147. See also Bolton on purple,p.141.

[11]On costume indexically denoting social position or profession, see Elam,p.25.

noble prince:[13]

A Duke for his Crown, Slopp and Mantal	xvi yards of x' the yard and livery for viii Servants
An Earle for his Crowne, Capp and Mantall	xvi yards of viii' the yard and livery for xii Servants
Every Baron	6 yards for his Gowne and Hood and Livery for viii Servants
A Knight	5 yards at vi' viii' the yard and livery for iiii Servants
Every Esquire	For the body as a Knight and livery for iii Servants

All other Esquires and Gentillmen at v' the yarde and Livery for iii Servants and Gentillmen for One Servant

Every yeoman and page to have iiii yards and every Gentillmans servant to have iii yards.

Details in the design of the mourning costume further differentiated mourners of different ranks. The chief mourner's train, for example, distinguished him/her from his four associates (figures 16 and 17).[14] While noblemen wore gowns and hoods, the simplest form of mourning, the 'black cote' was worn by the yeoman conductors and the bearers, or underbearers, of the coffin - it was indicative of their yeoman class.[15]

Head-gear, the most visible item of funeral apparel, was especially useful for demarking rank. Firstly, the type of head-gear worn was significant. Tippets and hoods were worn by those above the rank of esquire, tippets only by those of

[13]Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fol.188.

[14]Julian Litten, *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral Since 1450* (London: Robert Hale, 1991),p.175.

[15]Cunnington and Lucas,p.184.

16. Chief mourner with two escorts (1578), from BL, Additional MS 35324 fol.21.

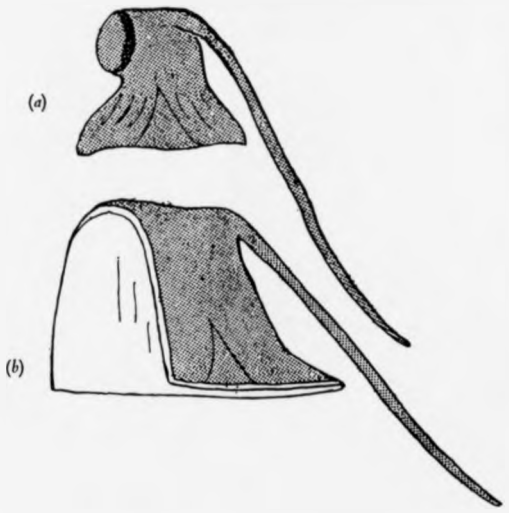
17. Chief mourner at a knight's funeral (c.1580), from BL, Additional MS 35324 fol.2.

lower status.[16] The tippets themselves, which were a survival from fourteenth and fifteenth century fashionable liripipes, varied in size and design (figure 18). Evidence exists of the exact dimensions of tippets worn by women of different rank. The queen and queen mother wore tippets 'a nayle and an inch' (3¼") wide, which were so long that they extended along the train, lying upon it. The tippets decreased in length by degrees until the baroness's tippet which was ¼ yard off the ground and 'scarce a nayle (2") in width. Knight's wives and some of the gentlewomen of the Royal Household wore their tippets 'pinned upon their arme'. Servants of lower status and female commoners were completely debarred from wearing tippets.[17]

The hood, already a denoter of high rank, could be worn in different ways, facilitating further differentiation, this time relating to the mourners's roles in the funeral procession. All those in the central section of the Derby funeral convoy, that is the bearer of the Great Banner, the heralds, pages, the usher seated on the chariot, the ten esquires, the chief and assistant mourners, the two ushers and the gentleman of the horse, together with the standard bearer, wore mourning hoods 'over the face'. Those with less significant roles, the eighty gentlemen, two secretaries, fifty knights and esquires, preacher, chief officers and sons of the chief mourner, were only entitled to wear their mourning hoods 'over the shoulder' (figure 19).

[16]BL, Harley MS 1354 fol.4. See also Taylor,p.81.

[17]CA I Series MS III fol.52 and BL, Harley MS 1776 fol.8. See also Taylor,p.75.



18. 'Ladys Mourning Attire'. Black tippetted hoods, (a) closed type, (b) open type, lined with white. Early seventeenth century, from CA Vincent MS 151 fol. 394.

19. Esquires and friends at Sir Philip Sidney's funeral. They wear a type of mourning hood not worn on the head but held on the shoulder by its tippet. Johann Theodor de Bry, engraved illustrations after Thomas Lant's *Funeral of Philip Sidney* (1587).

The importance of the symbolic role of the hood is underlined by the note appended to the list of fabric allowances for noblemen given above, 'Noone to were hooddes under the degree of an Esquire of Household, but in time of neede'. When there was a shortage of people of sufficient rank others would be substituted so that none of the key roles would be omitted. The hoods, worn low, obscuring their faces as can be clearly observed in an illustration of the funeral procession of a Garter Knight and Duchess, signified that their individual identities were subordinate to their symbolic functions.[10]

The hierarchical visual code of the funeral procession also operated through heraldic insignia: the banners and achievements, borne by esquires and heralds. These heraldic images and symbols functioned as visually encoded signals that told their own messages of noble status.

As far as achievements were concerned, to the coat of arms, sword, helmet and shield or target arrayed at the funeral of the Earl of Derby, there might be added gauntlets, spurs, insignia of orders and coronets. At the funeral of a peer above the rank of Baron, and certainly at that of a king, even the complete armour of the deceased might appear, worn by a champion mounted on the horse of honour.[11] The inclusion of

[10]BL, Additional MS 35324 fols 1-6.

[11]Gittings,p.174; Cunnington and Lucas,p.203,207; and 'An Extract relating to the Burial of King Edward IV', *Archaeologia* 1 (1777),348-355 (p.349). The helm, shield and saddle used in Henry V's obsequies are preserved in the Undercroft Museum at Westminster Abbey. See *Westminster Abbey: The Chapter House, the Pyx Chamber and Treasury, the Undercroft Museum* ([London (?)]: English Heritage, [n. d.]),p.28. Replicas of the Black Prince's funerary armour are on display in Canterbury cathedral.

a horse of honour also indicated higher status. Still further up the scale, the procession might feature more riderless horses trapped in black - there were three such at the funeral of Elizabeth.

Women of royal and noble extraction sometimes had achievements carried at their funerals. A funeral manuscript depicting the 'Funeral of a Duchess', dating from the 1580s, shows heralds bearing a shield, coat-of-arms and coronet but no weapons.[30] A later Elizabethan ordinance states, however, that 'it is not convenient that a woman should have a Coate of Armes or Shielld Helme and creste, the which is not lawful today'.[31] Yet Elizabeth had achievements in the form of a helme and crest, sword and coat of arms, borne at her funeral; the spurs and gauntlets, the most specificly masculine items were omitted.

The primacy of the display function of the funeral achievements in the Renaissance period is underlined by the fact that they had no utility beyond representing the rank and nobility of the defunct. Up until the late sixteenth century a few families did relinquish genuine items of armour for use in funerals and a few early tilt-helms and close-helms thus donated survive in churches, cathedral treasuries and museums. Rather like theatrical props, however, the majority of the armour utilized in funeral ceremonies was of a temporary nature, made of wood or perhaps metal, though never of

[30]BL, Additional MS 35324 fols 4-5.

[31]BL, Egerton MS 2642 fol.205.

substantial defensive quality.[11] Mourning swords, too, were specifically made for use in funeral ceremonies, being somewhat larger than the average arming sword. The coat of armour was made like the herald's tabard, embroidered or painted with the arms of the deceased on front and back, and on the short sleeves.[13]

The degree of workmanship invested in the achievements also varied according to the rank of the deceased; a helmet of 'steel gilt' for an earl's funeral cost £1, with a further £1 being charged for the crest, while a helmet for a knight cost 16*s*. and his crest 13*s*.[14]

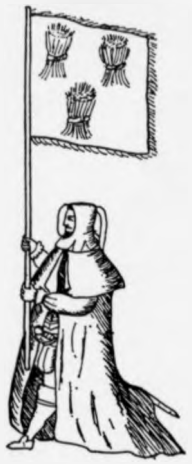
The number and types of the different types of flag included in any procession were similarly subject to a strict code of protocol determined by the rank of the deceased.[15] The banner, originally oblong in form, although as it evolved it became almost square, displayed the armorial coat of its owner spread entirely over its surface (figure 20). Banners were permitted only at the funerals of peers and their ladies. The standard was oblong in form, its size being dependent on the status of its master: a duke's standard was seven and a half yards long, while a knight's was only four. Standards did not bear the arms of their owners. Rather they had the cross of St. George in the chief (that is next to the staff), and next

[11]Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c.1500 - c.1800* (London: Robert Hale, 1991),p.68.

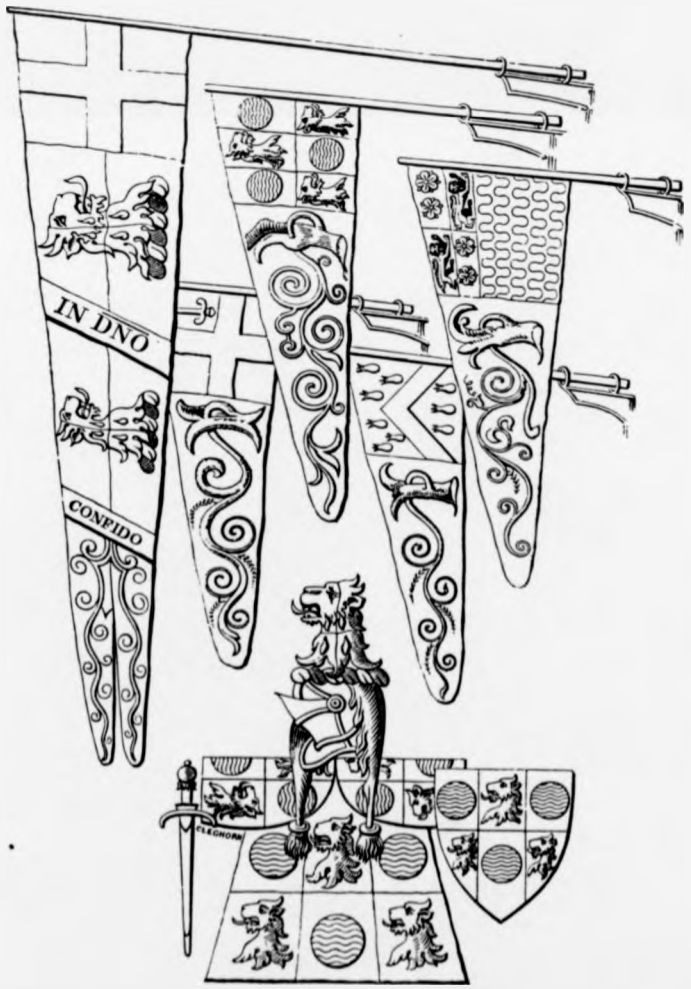
[13]Litten,p.176-7.

[14]Bodleian Library, Top. Yorks MS d.7 fols 23,33.

[15]Nichols (1848),pp.xxvi-xviii.



20. Lord Zouche with the banner of Chester in Queen Elizabeth's funeral procession (c. 1603), after William Camden (?) BL, Additional MS 5408 fol.33.



21. Standard, four penons, coat armour, target, sword, helmet, crest and mantles of Sir John White in Aldershot Church, Hampshire.

the beast or crest with his devise or motto. They were split into two at the tip. Knights and their ladies could display standards but not banners. Penons resembled the standard in form but were smaller and rounded, instead of split, at the end. They were, however, entirely different in charges, bearing the arms of the deceased like the banner. Esquires and their ladies were allowed penons but not standards (figure 21).

The lowest type of heraldic ensign utilized at funerals was the escutcheon which also bore the arms of the defunct. While mere gentlemen could have no penons, they could display as many escutcheons of arms as they wished. The funerals of the higher ranks were also provided with escutcheons, often amply to the extent of four, six or eight dozen. The escutcheons that decorated the funeral palls, three along each broad side, one at each end and the ninth on the top at the central point of the coffin lid, were small canvas rectangles, roughly eight inches by six inches in size, and were prepared by the herald-painters.

The language of heraldry had also developed a mode for the demonstration of the interlinking of aristocratic families through marriage alliances. The bannerolls communicated these particular messages. In form, bannerolls were similar to banners but made of increased width so that they could display impalements representing the alliances of the ancestors of the deceased. The six bannerolls borne around the coffin of Derby were charged with the arms of distinguished families linked by blood with the Stanley family. The number of bannerolls

allowed was determined by the rank of the defunct. They were only permitted at the funerals of peers and their ladies: a knight was restricted to four, while a duke could have a dozen.[16]

The heraldic symbols, gradations in dress and musical sections all further served to anticipate and mark out the central section of the funeral convoy. At the Derby funeral, one of the grandest, the build-up was signalled not only by the increasing quality of mourning dress and the grouping of heraldic insignia but also by the shift from mourners on foot at the beginning of the procession, to mourners on horseback at the core, and once again to mourners on foot at the rear. Internal codes thus reinforced the external appearance of the hierarchically organized funeral procession to give the overall impression of order and stability already described.

PARTICIPANT AND OBSERVER MOTIVATION[17]

The procession thus embodied status, hierarchy and the role of authority. It was at once a visual affirmation and confirmation of the social order. A dedicatory poem included in John Ferne's *The Blazon of Gentrie* thus describes the heralds' role in ordering processions:

> How status of men are martialed, and placed in degree,
> By sacred skill of heralds arte: that difference might

[16]Litten,p.177.

[17]The motivations behind the executors' staging of the funeral will be discussed in the next section of this chapter which deals with the offering ritual.

remaine,
Twixt King and Lord, twixt Lord and Knight, twixt Knight and simple Swain."

More recently processions have been described as a 'synchronic form of static hierarchical structure' and a 'visible means of relating individuals to the social structure'.[9] Mervyn James has similarly described the hierarchical ordering of processions as an embodiment of community which can be read on the one hand to support hierarchy and on the other to encourage social integration.[10] By taking part in the procession each participant acknowledged and enacted his relative status in society.

Apart from respect for the deceased, various motives lay behind the decision to participate in a funeral procession, depending on the status of the person concerned. The poor received alms and also the black cloth of their mourning garment, a valuable item in itself. Those of higher rank were given an opportunity to demonstrate their position in society,

[8]John Ferne, *The Blazon of Gentrie* (London: Toby Cooke, 1586),p.iii; see also Segar (1602),p.253.

[9]James (1986),p.30; Charles Pythian-Adams, 'Ceremony and the Citizen: the Communal Year at Coventry 1450-1550', in *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700: Essays in Urban History*, ed. by Peter Clark and Paul Slack (London: R. & K.P., 1972),p.59; Ronald Strickland, 'Pageantry and Poetry as Discourse: The Production of Subjectivity in Sir Philip Sidney's Funeral', *English Literary History*, 57 (1990),19-36 (p.19).

[10]James's remarks are made with reference to late medieval Corpus Christi processions. See his 'Ritual, Drama and the Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town', *Past and Present*, 98 (1983),3-29 (pp.5-10). See also Phythian-Adams,pp.57-70; and Nathalie Zemon Davis, 'The Sacred and the Social Body in Sixteenth Century Lyon', *Past and Present*, 90 (1981),40-70 (pp.40-1,54). On anthropological theories of the treatment of the body as an image of society, see Woodbridge,pp.270-1.

reaffirming the hierarchy that gave them status. The honour conferred on participants functioned as a deterrent to disruptive behaviour. Thus, although precedence disputes were never far away from processional occasions, they rarely encroached on the actual performance of the ritual and the illusion of order was usually preserved.[41]

An audience was required to witness the picture of order and stability. Strickland rightly sees the presence and emotional participation of the audience as part of the whole performance.[42] Yet the reasons behind attending a funeral procession and the effect of the ritual experience on the spectators are difficult to assess. The existence of a number of sixteenth and early seventeenth century texts on heraldry make this aspect of the funeral procession particularly accessible and a fruitful area for probing contemporary ideas about how ritual occasions operated on observers and what motivated their attendance.

Some heraldic insignia would have been familiar to participants in and observers of funerals. Those, for example, of local or particularly eminent aristocrats would have been very well-known because of their multiple representations in everyday life. Edmund Bolton describes 'Armouries [...] occurring every-where, in Seales, in frontes

[41]Lewis,p.12; Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Macmillan, 1988),p.142. On parish processional disputes, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400 - c.1580* (London: Yale University Press, 1992),p.126.

[42]Strickland,p.27.

of buildings, in utensils, in all things, Monarcks using them, mighty Peeres, and in briefe, all the noble tam maiorum, quam minorum gentium, from Caesar to the simplest Gentleman'.[43] Similarly, some armorial charges and colours are likely to have had well known associations. Only Kings, Emperors and members of the blood royal could, for example, bear gold.[44] The royal coat of arms was present at all funerals attended by members of the College of Arms because they were represented on the tabards of the heralds. Thus the loyalty of the ruling class to the Crown was underlined, as contemporaries were aware:

> 'The Officer of Arms weareth the King's coat of arms at the interment of a nobleman not only for the wel ordering of the funeral but also for the intent that it may be well beknown unto all men that the defunct died honourably, without any spot of dishonesty, the which might be dishonour to his blood, and the King's majesty's good and loyal subject'.[45]

Similarly, observers were always reminded that the ultimate source of aristocratic power lay in the authority of the monarch, 'For all degrees of 'Nobilite', are but so many 'Beames' issueing foorth from 'Regal Maiestie''.[46] When a certain Thomas Wastcote, 'most presumptuously invested himselfe in ye Kinges Coat of Arms takeing upon him to

[43]Bolton,p.2. See also James Dallaway, *Inquiries into the Origin and Progress of the Science of Heraldry in England* (London: B. & J. White, 1793),p.101.

[44]Legh,p.2. The art of covering banners and penons with beaten gold and silver beaten into a very thin lamina and stuck on with resinous gum was developed by the thirteenth century. See Dallaway,p.403.

[45]Bod., Ashmole MS 1116 fol.51; Segar (1602),p.254. The significance of state involvement in the funeral ritual is discussed further in chapter 2.

[46]John Guillim, *A Display of Heraldrie* (London: [n. pub.], 1610), Dedication to King James.

discharge ye Offices of an Herald' at a funeral in Exeter, the matter was viewed in a serious light and the case taken to the Earl Marshal's court.[17]

Yet while spectators would have recognized the insignia of royalty and well-known families, the subtleties of particular arrangements of ordinaries not to mention the complexities of multiple quartering and the numerous 'marks, crescents and mollets' used to denote family relationships would have been inaccessible to most.[18] William Wyrley displayed a contemporary awareness of the problem, asking:

> How is it possible for a plain unlearned man [..] to discerne and know a sunder, six or eight (what speake I of six or eight) sometimes thirtie or fortie severall marks clustered all together on shield or banner, nay though he had as good skill as *Robert Glover* late Somerset that dead is, and the eies of an Egle, amongst such a confusion of things, yet should he never be able to decipher the errors that are daily committed [...] nor discerne or know one banner or standard from another, be the same hoever so large?[19]

At the end of the sixteenth century the writers of heraldic treatises began to argue for a simplification of coats of arms, which had become increasingly florid and detailed. This implies a recognition of the fact that simple heraldic texts were accessible.[20] Yet this programme of simplification was not to get really underway until the mid-seventeenth century.

[17]Bod., Ashmole MS 836 fol.609. The position of Earl Marshal was then held in commission by Worcester, Lennox and Arundel.

[18]Guillim,p.13; BL, Harley MS 2129 fol.110; A. R. Wagner *Heralds and Ancestors* (London: [n. pub.], 1978),p.28.

[19]William Wyrley, *The True Use of Armorie* (London: Gabriell Cawood, 1592),p.7.

[20]Guillim,p.13; Wyrley,p.13.

There was resistance to the movement from those who wished to preserve the 'Mysterious Art'.[51] Bolton refers to the 'secret' of arms, 'the mysteries in armorial numbers' and the 'Hieroglyphics of Nobility'.[52] Ferne, Wryley and Legh all feel the need to comment on their publication of heraldic treatises in the English tongue. Willing though they are to exploit the growing demand for such works, they seek to contain the potential demystification of their craft. Maclagan criticizes Ferne, author of the most popular Elizabethan manual, for 'subscribing to fanciful blazonings which employ the names of planets and precious stones for the tinctures instead of the normal terms'.[53] The concentration on obscure and fictitious matters may, however, have been deliberate. Ferne's spokeman for heralds, Paradinus, argues thus: 'for as in everye Science or Art, latet aliquid misterii, not fit to be made knowne to everye man, so hath the Science of theirs also, her misteries and secretes, inconvenient to be revealed'.[54] Further, the function of heraldic symbols as a means of cultural definition depended on their being difficult to read.[55]

For the majority heraldic semiotics worked on the immediate

[51]Heraldry was described as such in a 1611 dedicatory poem to Guillim.

[52]Bolton, 'To the Gentle Reader',pp.170,188. See also Legh,p.112.

[53]Michael Maclagan, 'Genealogy and Heraldry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *English Historical Scholarship in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. by Levi Fox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956),pp.31-48 (pp.42-3).

[54]Ferne (1586),pp.6-7; Legh,p.i; Wyrley,p.41.

[55]Mullaney,p.19.

and direct level of size, number and, above all, colour, as is clear from the careful regulations imposed by the College of Arms. Those who could not 'decode' the complex symbolism of the heraldic insignia displayed at a funeral, could, nevertheless, be impressed by their quantity and brilliance. The banners borne aloft drew the eye of the beholder, their bright colours rivalled only by the heralds' tabards and the funeral achievements, polished, resplendent and displayed to best advantage by the heralds who bore them aloft, fixed to staves.[16] The heraldic funeral procession was a rich visual feast, stimulating the ocular senses of the audience. Edmund Bolton, author of an early seventeenth century treatise on heraldry, draws attention to the key role played by colour. 'For that as lines give them [coats of arms] shape or circumscription, so without colour [...] they neyther have life, nor distinction'. He goes on to analyse their effect on the individual: 'What innumerable affections are raised in the soule by colours, all admirers of beauty can tell, and I see not what the pride of life is the more ambitious in, or studious for, witnesse [...] y' pompe of cloathes, the ornament of building, and innumerable other: All which unto the blind worth nothing indeed, but to those who have the use of sight, a maine cause why they desire to live and bee'.[17]

[16]Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fol.196 and Thomas Lant, *The Funeral Procession of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. by T. De Bry (London: [n. pub.], 1587), see figure 9.

[17]Bolton (1610),pp.126;130. Giovanni Botero similarly comments that people are to a large extent persuaded to live contentedly in the early modern city by 'alluring sights', *Of the Causes of the Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, 2nd edn (London: H. Seile, 1635),p.41. On the ritual mystery of the court masque, see Graham Parry, *The Golden Age restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603-42* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981),pp.44,179.

The heraldic texts in the funeral procession thus operated on two levels. On the one hand banners and penons delighted the eye, imparting affective and perhaps physiological pleasure to the beholder and increasing the attraction of the occasion. At the same time they told ideological messages of status, messages that were strong but unspecific, impressive but mysterious.[58] As the convoy passed by, each spectator witnessed a visual representation of social order without understanding how that order operated.

The duality in the way in which heraldic texts functioned in the heraldic funeral gives us a model of Gluckman's process of 'sublimation'.[59] The brilliance of the heraldic colours and symbols evoke a direct emotional and physical response which is separate from any cerebral appreciation of the meanings of individual coats. In fact the 'meaning' seems to be necessarily obscure and mysterious to ensure the desired affective reponse. The very process of symbolization collapses meanings into images, inviting faith. At the same time, implicit within the heraldic code is a sense of ordering the universe, a sense which conveys itself to the observer irrespective of hidden specific meanings. Through the semiotics of heraldry, as through its overall spatial organization, the funeral procession again and again affirmed the continuation of order and stability in the face of the

[58]Nigel Llewellyn, 'Claims to Status through Visual Codes: Heraldry on post-Reformation Funeral Monuments', in *Chivalry in the Renaissance* ed. by Sydney Anglo (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1990),p.145.

[59]See Introduction,pp.12-4.

demise of a key member of society. It is in this fulfillment of the deep human need to be cushioned from the impact of death that the ultimate motivation behind spectator and participant attendance lies. Sublimation shows how ritual display conferred strength on the elite but at the same time takes account of the two-way relationship between ruler and ruled, acknowledging that on ritual occasions the populace is not simply manipulated by that elite, as Marxist analysts with their unidirectional concept of mystification like to suggest, but gains both physiological pleasure and emotional reassurance. Ritual occasions bring benefits to both ruler and ruled.

THE FORM AND FUNCTIONS OF THE HERALDIC FUNERAL CHURCH SERVICE

The Church Setting

At the heart of the church service, usually held the day after the funeral procession, was the central ritual performance of the heraldic funeral: the offering. Once again discussion will centre on the Derby funeral. Before turning to a detailed analysis of the offering ceremony, however, it is important to consider how the church was transformed into an appropriate setting.

Inside the church black drapes were swathed about the pulpit and communion table and hung from the arches of the aisles, punctuated with escutcheons of the Earl's arms, some impaled with the arms of his three successive wives, all Countesses.

A list of the hangings required in St. Paul's for the burial 'of any Estate' while not providing a complete list of fabric quantities, gives a general indication of the amount of black cloth used and where it was placed:

> Black hanging the Quier -
> the blacke on the communion table being ordinary - 5 yardes
> the blacke in the upper quarter of that Quier
> the blacke in the Bishop's Sea[t]
> the blacke in the neyther Quier
> the blacke on the outfront of the rood loft[10]

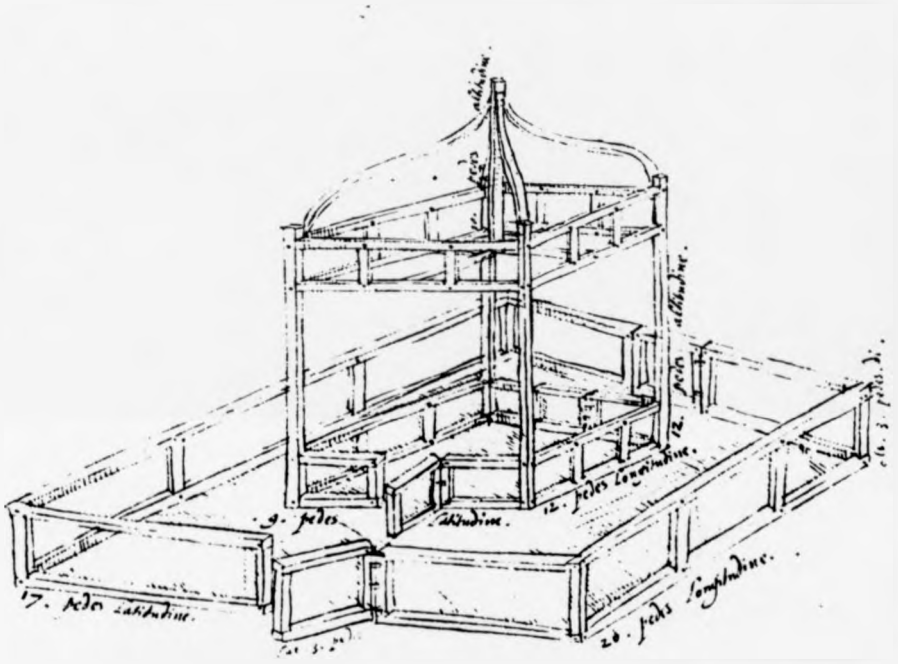
The abundance of black acted as a foil to the bright heraldic colours of the coats of arms.

The black hangings also provided a back-drop for the magnificent hearse that was set up between the choir and the body of the church to receive Derby's coffin.[11] It stood thirty feet high, twelve feet long and nine feet wide, surrounded by a double rail. It had a central, raised section upon which the coffin would stand (figure 22). The whole was covered with black taffeta, silk and velvet, and adorned with numerous escutcheons. The canopy, or 'Majesty', was also of taffeta lined with buckram and embroidered on the underside with the Earl's arms in gold and silver embroidered.[12] Six great burial paste-escutcheons were fixed to the four corners, the top of the canopy and the valance which was further

[10]CA, Vincent MS 151 fol.161. The expense accounts for the St. Paul's funeral of Henry II (1559) include blacks to cover the chancel floor, J. Stype, *Ecclesiastical memorials relating chiefly to religion and the reformation of it*, 3 vols (London: [n. pub.], 1721),I,127.

[11]BL, Harley MS 2129 fol.94.

[12]The seventeenth century antiquary, James Dallaway, traces this custom back to the fourteenth century,p.101.



22. Structure of the hearse for the funeral of William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, from Bod., Ashmole MS 836 fol.212. (See also figure 23.)

adorned with small metal pencils or pensels, the diminutive of penon.[63] Overall the hearse had a stage-like quality, making the coffin highly visible to the congregation and focusing their attention upon it (figure 23).[64]

The size and design of the hearse was governed by heraldic regulations according to the rank of the deceased. The requirements for the hearse of an earl are given as follows:

> A hearse of tymber w^th^ fyve principalls to be covered w^th^ blacke clothe and the same to be furnished Accordinglie
>
> Item to have a Maiestie of taffetie[65]

A Countess would similarly have a closed roof hearse with five principals but not all hearses had canopies, as manuscript drawings in the Ashmole collection illustrates.[66]

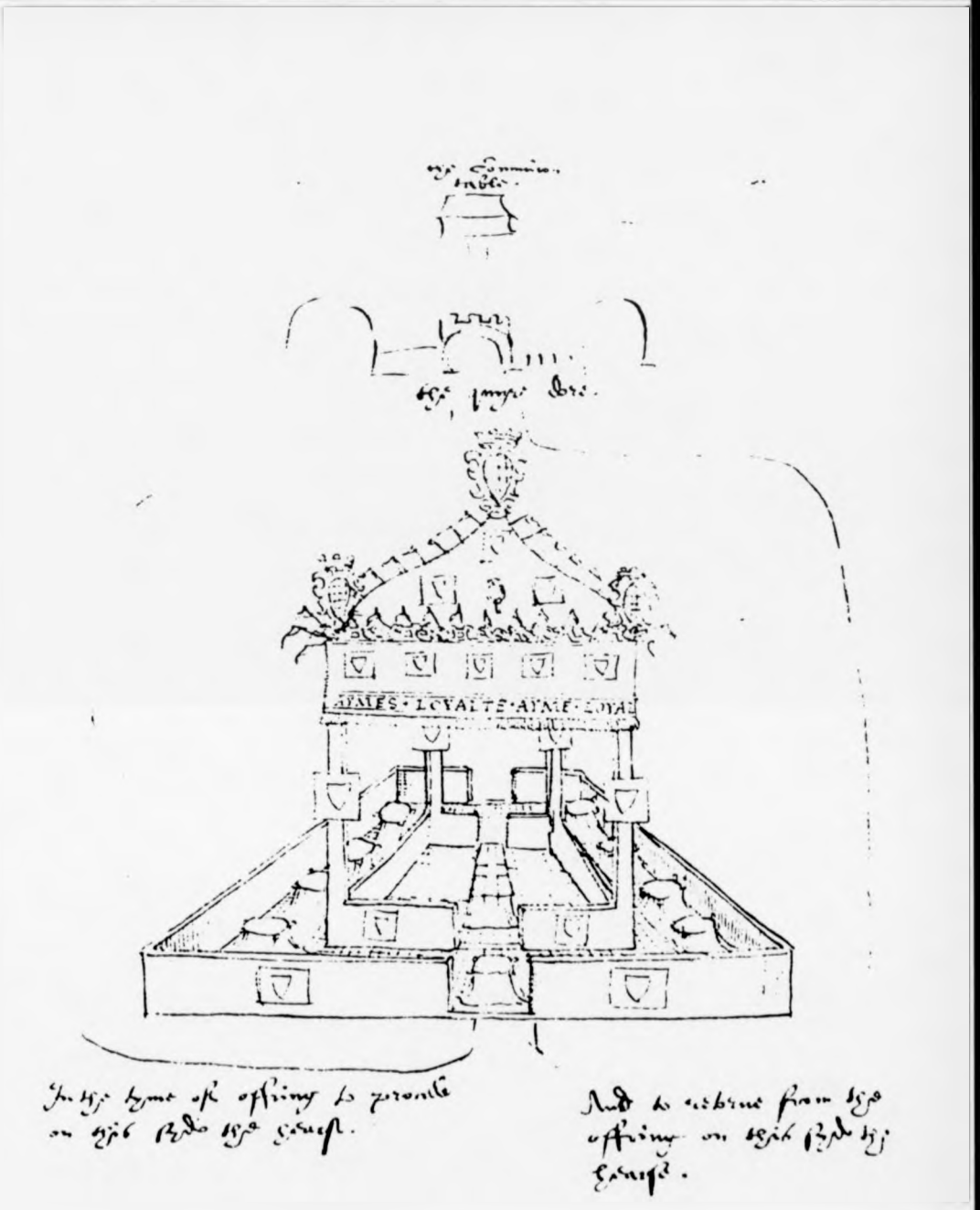
The rails around the coffin and the church served a dual function: they both supported the black mourning fabric and marked out the spaces where the protagonists and the audience should locate themselves. They did not in any way obscure the audience's view of the coffin and protagonists, being only

[63]Nichols (1848),p.xxviii. For an engraving of Anne of Denmark's hearse, see figure 85.

[64]For an Elizabethan discussion of the origins of the hearse, see Tate,p.219.

[65]Bod., Ashmole MS 836 fol.43. See also CA, Vincent MS 151.

[66]Bod., Ashmole MS 836 fols 53;149. Ibid fols 146-63 have a number of contemporary diagrams and descriptions of hearses. See also BL, Harley MS 2129 fols 47-9,54,56-8; BL, Additional MS 14417 fol.7.



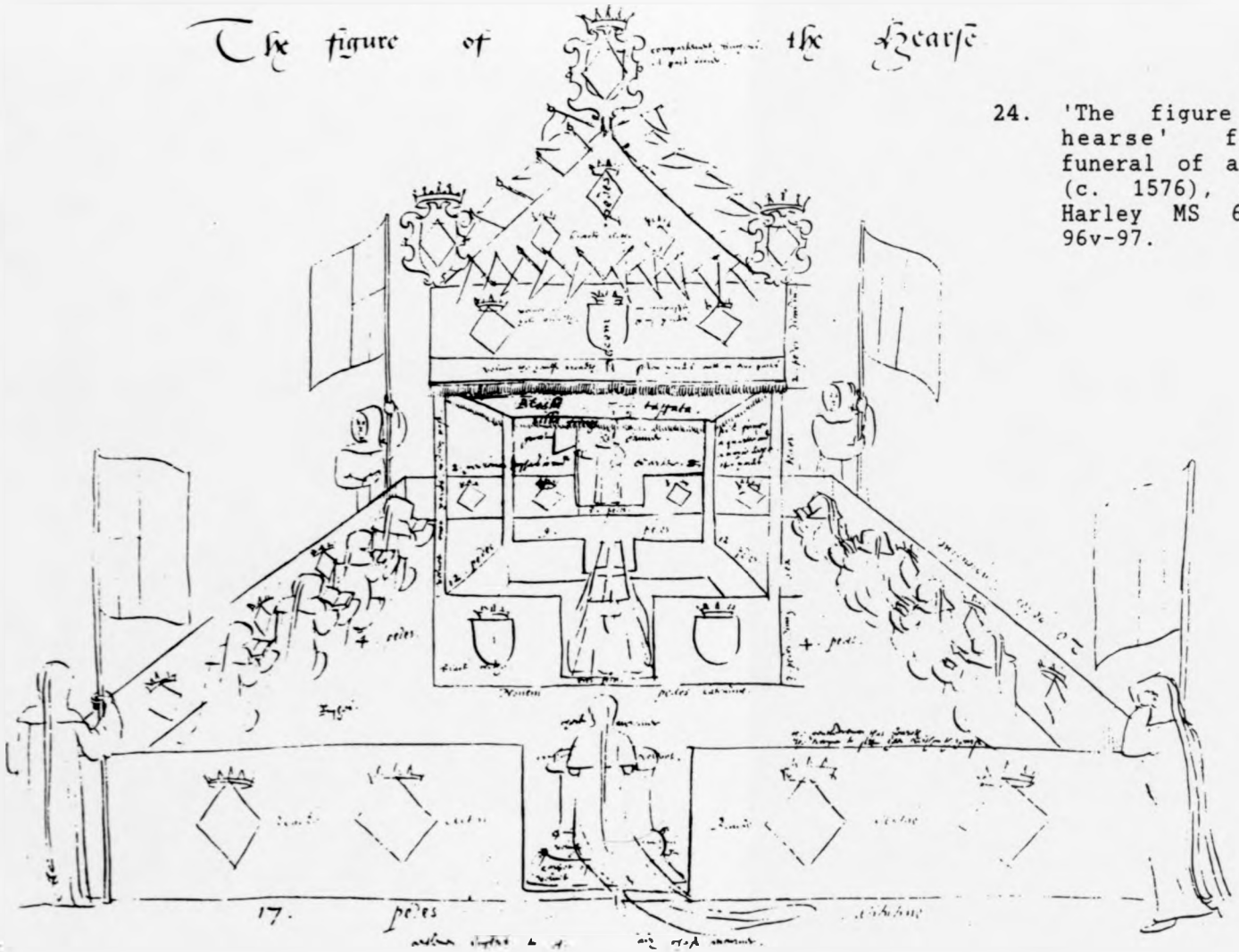
23. Hearse design for the funeral of William, Marquis of Winchester, from Bod., Ashmole MS 836 fol.212. It is annotated to indicate that the mourners will proceed down the left side of the hearse to the offering and return on the right.

about waist-height: the sides of the hearse were open.[10]

The arrangements at the Derby funeral illustrate the significance of the mourners' positions, particularly in and around the hearse. On arrival at the church, the coffin of the Earl of Derby was removed from the chariot by eight gentlemen and borne inside. The hundred poor men remained outside, lining the way into the church. The coffin was placed inside the hearse, on a three foot high table or platform. A black velvet pall was placed over it and the coat of arms, sword, target, helm and crest laid on top. Then the principal mourners all sat inside the rails around the hearse, on the black-draped stools provided for them, with the chief mourner at the head. A detail in the description of the funeral of Katherine Berkley (d. 1593) states that all the mourners faced inward.[11] Before the chief mourner was placed a carpet and four cushions of black velvet to kneel and lean upon; the other mourners each had one cushion for the same purpose. At the feet of the defunct, outside the rail stood the two esquires holding the standard and the great banner and the other esquires bearing the bannerolls. The three Kings of Arms stood outside the head of the hearse together with the four gentleman ushers. Lancaster, still wearing the arms of the defunct, stood between the standard and the great banner

[10]Compare the description of the temporary scaffold set up in the chapel at Whitehall for the wedding ceremony of Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine (1613) which was 'rayled on both/ side; the rayles being covered with cloth of tissue, but open at the top, that the whole assembly might the better see all the ceremonies'. See John Nichols, ed., *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James I*, 4 vols (London: J. B. Nichols, 1828),II,544-6.

[11]Ingram, Appendix VIII,p.512.



24. 'The figure of the hearse' for the funeral of a Countess (c. 1576), from BL, Harley MS 6064 fols 96v-97.

(figure 24).[10]

The Offering Ceremony and Ritual Succession

At the beginning of the service, Norroy King of Arms pronounced the names and titles of the deceased.[11] There followed a sermon from the Dean of Chester and the epistle and gospel read by the Vicar; yet these scriptural elements were but a prelude to the symbolic core of the church death ritual: the offering.

First Henry Earl of Derby, the principal mourner, was led up to the altar by the four heralds and offered a piece of gold to the celebrant on behalf of the deceased.[11] On either side of Garter stood a gentleman usher and an esquire to bear the chief mourner's train. The eight other principal mourners followed in order of degree, but did not offer at this stage. Then all returned to their places in the hearse.

After a short interval, the principal mourner rose a second time and went up to the altar to offer for himself. Now only Clarenceux and Lancaster escorted him to the altar. Once he had offered, he stood between the minister and Lancaster to

[10]On the special seating constructed in Westminster Abbey for James's funeral, see Fritz,p.64. See also British Library, Stowe MS 152 fol.136.

[11]As is generally the case in contemporary accounts of funerals, the form of the funeral service receives no comment. It is reasonable to assume, however, that the service followed that prescribed in the 1559 *Prayer Book*. See chapter 2,pp.74-6. The style could also be pronounced after the offering. See Gittings,p.178.

[11]Stone (1965) inaccurately has the chief mourner offer the coin to the heralds,p.574.

receive the noble achievements of his father, the coat of arms, the sword, pommel borne forward, the target, helm and crest. These were offered by the other eight mourners, in pairs, each escorted by either Clarenceux or Norroy.[72] Segar elucidates the meaning of the ritual, highlighting the significance of the chief mourner's role and the the importance of the 'public' aspect of the ritual:

> And that his heire, if he have any, or next of whole blood, or some one for him (which commonly is the chief mourner) may publickly receive in the presence of all the mourners, the coate armour, Helme, Creast, and other Achievements of honour belonging to the defunct: whereof the King of Armes of the Province is to make record, with the defuncts match, issue and decease for the benefit of posterity.[73]

Thus the chief mourner ritually inherited the title of his father.

The 'creation' ceremony over, the new Earl returned to his stool in the hearse and remained there for the duration of the proceedings.[74] At the funeral of the Earl of Salisbury

[72]At particularly grand medieval and early Tudor funerals a horse of honour ridden by a champion wearing the armour of the deceased would also be offered. See the funerals of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk (1524) in Francis Blomefield, *The History of [...] Thetford* (Fersfield: [n. pub.], 1739), Appendix VIII; Edward IV (1483) in *Archeaologia* 1 (1777),p.354; Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury (1462/3) in Sir A. Wagner, *Heralds of England: A History of the Office and College of Arms* (London: H.M.S.O., 1967),p.107; and Henry VII (1509) in BL, Harley MS 3504. Cunnington speculates that this part of the ritual had died out by the time of the Earl of Derby's funeral in 1572,p.207. It is mentioned in a sixteenth century ordinance for the funerals of kings (BL, Egerton MS 2642 fol.167^{v}) but I have not come across any post-1524 instances of the practice.

[73]Segar (1602),IV,254.

[74]Stone (1965) makes another error here, stating that the chief mourner rose again and went to the altar to receive the standard and banner,p.574.

(1462), to demonstrate further that the coat of arms of the deceased had been transferred to his heir, the Earl's herald stood before the hearse wearing it for the remainder of the mass until the burial.[75]

At Derby's funeral the eight mourners then offered again, this time 'for themselves', escorted once more by Clarenceux or Norroy, except the last pair, which was led up by a lower ranking herald, Bluemantle Pursuivant of Arms. Next the esquires offered the standard and great banner at the altar. Once they had offered they removed their hoods. Lancaster then escorted the chief officers of the defunct's household, white staves in hand, to make their offerings. Next, in pairs, the other mourners, right down to the yeomen made their offerings of gold to the deceased. At the funeral of Lord Dacre (1563) the manuscript specifies that 'all others of the cyte and the country' offered, too.[76]

The highly elaborate and intricate form of the proceedings described mark out the offering as the key episode of the heraldic funeral ritual. The offering ritual enacted the succession of the new Earl, thereby filling the gap in the ranks of the aristocracy opened up by the death of his father.[77] At the funerals of noblewomen such as that of

[75]Wagner (1967),p.107.

[76]Bod., Ashmole MS 836 fol.182. The gender of participants in the offering was regulated with women barred from offering at the funerals of men. See BL, Harley MS 1368 fol.29.

[77]Gittings,p.179. My analysis goes further than Gittings by showing how the ritual succession was performed: how power was conferred through ceremonial.

Elizabeth of York (1503) where achievements were absent, the principal mourners instead offered richly woven palls.[78] At funerals of women 'under the degree of Countess', however, only money was offered. Nevertheless, flags and banners were still received by the male heir, and thus the offering at a woman's funeral also demonstrated the transfer of aristocratic power.[79] Here was the motivation behind the executors' staging of the funeral ceremony.[80]

The solemnity of this ritual process of succession was signified in various ways. Of key importance were the spatial or, to borrow a term from the semiologist Kier Elam, proxemic codes.[81] The hearse was clearly a focal point in the ritual proceedings as was indicated by the centrality of its location in the church, usually in the choir and the location of the chief participants, including the corpse of the defunct, in and around it. The main ritual movements were from the hearse to the altar and back. The periodic return of the mourners to their seats in the hearse separated the proceedings into distinct phases, or scenes. Some manuscript accounts actually mention a pause in the proceedings after the chief mourner has returned to the hearse.[82] The two locations, hearse and

[78]W. H. St John Hope, 'On the funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England, with special reference to those in the Abbey Church of Westminster', *Archaeologia*, 40, part 2 (1907),517-70 (p.546).

[79]Ingram, Appendix VIII,p.512; Gittings,p.178.

[80]Only in rare cases where the defunct had no heir did the offering ritual not dramatize a succession. See BL, Harley MS 6064 fol.97.

[81]Elam,pp.56-69.

[82]BL, Harley MS 1368 fol.29.

altar, were symbolically resonant, setting up a series of dialectics between secular and religious, static and dynamic, old and new. The hearse with its multiple representations of the arms of the defunct emphasized the worldly, the altar represented the divine. The hearse was the resting place of the dead earl, the altar, the mystical location for the creation of the new earl. An interesting contemporary diagram in a manuscript at the Bodleian shows a hearse, rather unusually placed in the nave rather than the chancel, but, nonetheless, carefully positioned in line with the choir door in the rood screen and the communion table beyond (figure 23).[83] The lines marked indicate the mourners' movements. Funeral ritual, unlike most medieval liturgical drama, progressed from the nave to the altar, perhaps imitating the process of the soul heavenwards.[84] The deliberate and careful positioning thus created a secular focus which stood, as if in homage, before the dominant religious focus of the building, the altar.[85]

Variations in costume, props, choreography and position, particularly in relation to the two key locations of hearse and altar, further contributed to the ritualization process and signalled changes in the roles adopted by the protagonists.

[83]Bod., Ashmole MS 836 fol.212.

[84]In the topological symbolism of the medieval church, the east represented heaven and the west, earth. See John Wesley Harris, *Medieval theatre in Context: an Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1992),pp.38-9.

[85]The relationship between the secular and the religious is discussed more fully in chapter 2,pp.81,86-90. In post-Reformation England the altars in many churches were converted into communion tables and some were relocated at the steps of the choir rather than the east end of the chancel. See ibid,p.4.

The number and heraldic rank of the escorts reflected on the role of the mourners at particular stages in the offering. The chief mourner was escorted by all four heralds when acting on behalf of the deceased, but by only two when offering for himself, indicating the lesser dignity of the role. At that moment he was only the heir; the title still pertained to the defunct and would not become his until he had symbolically received the achievements. Similarly, when the eight principal mourners offered the coat of arms, target, helm and crest, the special dignity of their role was underlined because they were escorted only by Kings of Arms. When offering on their own behalf, a lesser herald, Bluemantle Pursuivant, could take part as an attendant. (It may also have been the deliberate policy of the College of Arms to include as many heralds as possible, each of whom would then take a cut in the fees, heralds of lesser status being then differentiated by role.)

In the account of the Derby funeral the presence or absence of train-bearers accompanying the chief mourner when he offered further accentuated his shift in role. When he offered for the first time, on behalf of the deceased and continued incumbent of the title, he was flanked by two Gentlemen-ushers and two esquires held his train. No attendants were mentioned when he offered on his own behalf, but when he returned to his seat having received the achievements and with them the title, the two ushers and the two esquires were back in place. Similarly at the funeral of the Earl of Shrewsbury (1560) the chief mourner, 'making [a] reverence, gave a purse of gold for

the offering. The which chief mourner had a cushion and a carpet laid by a gentleman usher, for him to kneel on'. When he made his second offering, this time in his own capacity, he approached the altar, with 'neither train borne up, or cushion, or carpet to kneel on', emphasizing his humility.[16] The symbolic import of the hood was indicated by the actions of the esquires who wore them over their heads when offering the standard and banner, putting them off when returning to their places. Similar behaviour is evident in the account of the funeral of Anne of Cleves. When the chief mourner's two gentleman assistants were 'executing a charge' (i.e. a ceremonious duty) each wore his mourning hood over his head 'during the tyme of that chardge' but otherwise 'put it off or had it on his shoulder'.[17] The hood thus made an important contribution to the process of ritualization, suppressing the individual identities of the esquires. They acted merely as agents in the supremely important transfer of the title to the son and heir.

The central focus of the proceedings was the public person of the nobleman, signified by the heraldic titles and achievements. Once that public persona had been ritually transferred to the heir, attention was fixed on him and the body lost its significance, as the Derby funeral illustrates:

[16]Gittings,p.176-7. See also James I's funeral where the train of the chief mourner, Charles, was not carried for him when he offered for himself, College of Arms Nayler (Press 20F/ Royal Funerals): 1618-1738,pp.55-6. See also Bod., Ashmole MS 818 fol.24 and BL, Harley MS 2129 fol.30; 6064 fol.94.

[17]Cunnington and Lucas,pp.218-9; Accounts of sixteenth century funerals make a careful distinction between hoods up and the less important hoods down. See Taylor (1988),p.88.

> And thus the offertory ended, the 100 poor men were placed to proceed homeward on foot, and after them were placed Esquires, and Gentlemen, on horseback; then the Garter Principal of Arms, then the Principal Mourner, with the other eight mourners, two by two, and then the Yeomen on foot, two by two."

The chief mourner was now the focus of attention in this second procession, which took him, as the newly succeeded nobleman, back to the ancestral home, further emphasizing the continuity of the aristocracy."[11] At the Derby funeral the heir was not present at the interment of his father, giving him no opportunity to indulge in feelings of private grief at the graveside. His role was to display his public persona to the populace to demonstrate the continuity of the ranks of the aristocracy. Although I have come across one or two examples of funerals where the mourners did not depart until after the interment, the majority of cases follow the Derby pattern suggesting that it was standard procedure for mourners not to witness the interment."[12] This was also the case at royal funerals as Lady Anne Clifford's account of Anne of Denmark's funeral (1619) makes clear: 'when all the company was gone and the Church door shut up, the Dean of *Westminster*, the

"Collins,III,62.

"The community hierarchy would be reinforced by a funeral feast furnished by the heir. By receiving his food the guests accepted his accession and acknowledged their obligation towards him, Gittings,p.180; Stone (1965),p.575; Ingram, Appendix VIII,p.313. Bertram Puckle intriguingly remarks that the funeral repast was originally called an 'averil', a term derived from 'heir ale' or 'succession ale' but his etymology is not confirmed by the O.E.D. See his *Funeral Customs, Their Origins and Development* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1926),p.104.

"Further examples of mourners not witnessing interments can be found in Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fols 192-3; CA, I Series XI fol.31; BL, Harley 6064 fol.98. See also Gittings,pp.178-9. For exceptions see BL, Harley MS 2129 fol.31 and 6064 fol.98.

Prebends, Sir *Edward Zouch* [...] came up a private way and buried the corpse at the east end of *Henry* the 7th Chapel about 7 o'clock at night'.[11] It was as if the moment of death was located not at the time of the physical demise of the body but at the symbolic transfer of nobility enacted in the offering ceremony.

At Derby's funeral, the interment of the coffin was conducted by the remaining three heralds with only about fifteen esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen, together with the Treasurer, Comptroller and Steward of the late Earl in attendance. The private persona of the late nobleman received little recognition in the funeral ritual. The primary purpose of the heraldic funeral was social and concerned with the public persona of the dead nobleman, rather than the burial of his private body.[12]

The only personal impact of the Earl's death acknowledged at the interment was again one of changing social status, this time the status of the chief officers of the deceased's household. The latter, 'with weeping tears', broke their staves of office over their heads and threw them in after the coffin once it had been lowered into the open grave. The breaking of the staves ritually signalled the break-up of the old Earl's household. While their grief may have signified genuine attachment to the private person of their dead lord, in all likelihood, it may have been coloured by anxiety as to

[11]V. Sackville-West, ed., *The Diary of Lady Anne Clifford* (London: Heinemann, 1923),p.101.

[12]Gittings,pp.167-8.

their own future.[11] Derby's chief officers were, however, to be ritually reinstated, receiving both their offices and staves from the new Earl at the funeral banquet.

At the Derby funeral, the six bannerolls were then delivered up to the heralds, and placed, together with the other achievements, over and about the coffin in the grave; having played their part in the ritual transference of power, the actual objects were no longer required. Sometimes the banners and achievements would be buried with the coffin, while on other occasions they would be retrieved for display in the church (figure 25).[12] The now-empty hearse was also often left standing in the church for some months.

[11]Gittings,p.179.

[12]Gittings,p.179; for an example of a Bishop's mitre being placed in a coffin (1556) see Cunnington and Lucas,p.166.

25. Funerary achievements and monument of Sir William Penn, 1670. St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol.

FUNERAL RITUAL AND THE REFORMATION

> The xxiij day of Marche was bered at sant tellens ser John Sentlow knyght, with ij haroldes of armes, master Clarenshux and master Somerset, with standard and penon, and cott and elmet, target and sword, but nodur cross nor prest, nor clarkes, but a sermon and after a salme of Davyd; and ij dosen of skochyons of armes.[1]

In his account of this 1559 funeral, Henry Machyn, registers something of the impact of the Reformation on funeral ritual. This chapter explores that impact and seeks to establish to what extent the Reformation changed the funeral ritual experience. An appreciation of the interaction of reformist attitudes and funeral practices is a necessary prerequisite to understanding the Elizabethan and Jacobean royal funerals that will be discussed in later chapters. It is the purpose of this chapter to establish the effect of the Reformation on funeral ritual.

Church Interiors and Ritual Accessibility

> Finally, whereas there was wont to be a great partition between the choir and the body of the church, now it is either very small or none at all, to say the truth, altogether needless, sith the minister saith his service commonly in the body of the church, in a little tabernacle of wainscot provided for the purpose.[2]

So William Harrison summarized the changes that were made to

[1] Nichols (1848), p.191.

[2] William Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. by Georges Edeles (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968), p.36; originally published in 1577 with a new enlarged edition in 1587.

church interiors as a result of the Reformation.[3] These alterations to performance space would have profound implications for funeral ritual.

The partition Harrison refers to was the rood screen. The fate of rood screens was various, some being torn down but official sanction being given for their retention. Where screens were taken down, funeral hearses and offering ceremonies located in the choir would have been made more visible to the congregation, perhaps increasing the sense of community involvement but reducing the mystery that surrounded the once partially-visible proceedings.[4]

Harrison's 'tabernacle of wainscot' is the pulpit, examples of which reformers busily set about erecting in churches all over the country. Pulpits were usually located in the nave but the actual rubric of the Elizabethan Church was ambivalent enough to give the Bishops wide powers of interpretation in determining the minister's position for the offices.[5] Pulpit position contributed to the enhanced status of the sermon, including the funeral sermon, and reflects a Protestant bias

[3]On the central importance of the churches as social spaces, see Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts, I: Laws Against Images* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989),p.16; and J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984),p.44.

[4]W. J. Sheils, *The English Reformation 1530-1570* (London: Longman, 1989),p.52; G. W. O. Addleshaw and F. Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* (London: Faber & Faber, 1948),pp.16-7,25,30-40.

[5]Addleshaw,pp.23-4, 31-2; Scarisbrick,pp.163-4.

towards text-based and congregation-focused worship.[6] The funeral sermon came to have a secular focus, concentrating on a celebration of the life of the deceased including his social status.

A third alteration to the church performance space, not mentioned by Harrison, was the change in form, name and position of the altar. Under Edward VI, the altar began to be replaced by a communion table and in the 1552 *Prayer Book* the word 'altar' is replaced with 'table', 'Lord's table' or 'God's board'.[7] The communion table had the advantage of manoeuvrability, facilitating its movement to the west end of the chancel, or the nave itself, where it stood facing the people. The 1559 Injunction stated that the communion table should stand in the place where the altar had stood, i.e. at the east wall of the chancel, and was to be covered with a cloth but was to be moved into the middle of the chancel to facilitate participation by the people who now took communion in both kinds. It seems likely that the communion table would have been similarly relocated in the more accessible position for the funeral offering service.

Eamon Duffy has convincingly argued in favour of the participatory nature of late medieval worship citing the widespread celebration of mass at nave and chantry altars.

[6]This needs to be understood within the context of the pulpit functioning as the chief means of communication, since the impact of the printing press hardly penetrated beyond the intelligensia. See Sheils (1989),p.69; Ingram, Appendix VIII,p.512. On pre-Reformation pulpits and sermons, see Duffy,pp.57-8,79.

[7]Addleshaw,p.25-35; Sheils (1989),p.45.

There is no evidence, however, that the funeral offering took place anywhere other than at the main altar in the chancel. Moving the altar/communion table into the chancel would have increased the communal apect of this particular ritual.[8]

Communion tables were not always moved, however, and both official rule and official example facilitated a variety of interpretation.[9] The altar in the private Chapel Royal stood permanently at the east end of the chancel but in Westminster Abbey, the church of state public ceremony, the High Altar was replaced by an oak communion table and probably placed at the foot of the steps. At funerals held in Westminster Abbey, including royal funerals, the juxtaposition of hearse and altar and the offering ceremony enacted between them would both have become more visible to the congregation.[10]

[8]Duffy,pp.110-116,129,474.

[9]Addleshaw,pp.108,117,126; Aston,292, Strype,I,401; Wiffen, *House of Russel*, cited by A. P. Stanley, *Memorials of Westminster Abbey* (London: Murray, 1869),p.458.

[10]Stanley (1869),p.406. See also figure 36.

Funeral Ritual and Iconomachy

> Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likenesse of *anything* that *is* in heaven above, or that *is* in the earth beneath, or that *is* in the water under the earth.[11]

Great stress was laid upon the second commandment by the leaders of the Reformation and many early expressions of reformist zeal were characterized by iconoclastic behaviour.[12] The desire to eradicate all images, painted and sculpted, from worship had a major impact on the appearance of church interiors (figure 26). William Harrison summed up the changes as follows:

> As for our churches themselves, bells and times of Morning and Evening Prayer remain as in times past, saving that all images, shrines, tabernacles, rood lofts, and monuments of idolatry are removed, taken down, and defaced; only the stories in glass windows excepted.[13]

All images, as William Harrison says, were removed, excepting the stained-glass windows, spared because they were part of the church fabric. Particularly significant for funeral rituals was the white-washing out of the rood cross, a carved

[11]Exodus 20.4, *The Geneva Bible* (London: Robert Barker, 1605).

[12]'An Homily against Peril of Idolatry and superfluous Decking of Churches' was the longest Elizabethan homily. See John Griffiths, ed., *The Two Books of Homilies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1859),pp.167-278. John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, compared the Tudor monarchs with the Byzantine emperors who had officially adopted a policy of iconoclasm. See John Ayre, ed., *The Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1845-50),II (1847),644-68.

[13]Harrison,p.35. For records of changes to church interiors, see Anthony Palmer, ed., *Tudor Churchwarden's Accounts* (Braughing: Hertfordshire Record Society, 1985).

¶ The ninth booke containyng the Actes and thynges done in the reigne of kyng Edward the 6.

(*.*)

King Edward the vj.

An. 1547. The raigne and time of K. Edward.

After the death of kyng Henry succeded kyng Edward his sonne, beyng of the age of .x. yeares. He began his reigne, the .28. day of January, and reigned .vj. yeres, viij. monethes, and viij. dayes, and deceased .an. 1553. the .6. day of July. Of whose excellent vertues, & singular graces wrought in him by the gift of God, although nothyng can be said enough to his commendation: yet because the renowmed fame of such a worthy Prince shall not utterly perish our duty without some grateful remembraunce, I thought in fewe wordes to touch some litle portion of his prayse, taken out of great heapes of matter, which might bee inferred. For to stand uppon all that might be said of him, it would be to long: and yet to say nothyng, it were to much unkynd. If kynges and Princes which have wisely and vertuously governed, have found in all ages writers to solemnise and celebrate their Actes and memory, such as never knew them: how much were subiect unto them, unto much them are we Englishe men bounde, not to forget our duetie to kyng Edward, a Prince although but tender in yeares, yet for his age and mature regence in wytte and all princely ornamentes, as I (or suche to whom he may not be equall, so agayne I fear not many, to whom he may not iustly be preferred.

Commendation of kyng Edward.

And here to use the example of Plutarch in comparyng kynges and rulers, the Latines with the Grekes together: if I should seeke with whom to match this noble Edward, I finde not with whom to make me match

26. The Reign of Edward VI, from John Fox's *Actes and Monuments* (1570).

image of the crucifixion set against a background representation of the Last Judgement and located on the tympanum above the rood screen.[14] A Royal Order to ecclesiastical commissioners of 10 October 1561, stated that 'some convenient crest' should replace the old rood cross. In effect that 'convenient crest' was to be the royal arms (figure 27).[15] Although in some instances the royal arms were already in place, the practice was now a government led country-wide policy.[16]

The rood cross was a focus of much late medieval Catholic ritual.[17] The effect of replacing it with the royal arms was profound. It symbolized the Tudor conjunction of Church and State in the monarch achieved by the Acts of Supremacy, imaging Thomas Cromwell's concept of caesaropapism. Appropriation of the paschal symbolism of resurrection and eternal life is also implicit in the royal arms, image of the perpetual state or Body Politic that outlives the individual monarch. This is one reason perhaps why the royal arms, symbol of Tudor dynastic kingship, were chosen rather than an image of an individual monarch. In addition, the use of an heraldic representation diffused the impact of replacing the

[14]This ocurred, for example, in the Guild Chapel at Stratford. The whitewashing of walls had also taken under Edward VI. See Aston,p.257; Duffy,p.480. For whitewashing under Elizabeth in 1561, see Strype,I,274.

[15]Aston,p.313; Scarisbrick,p.174; Duffy,p.485; John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973),p.119.

[16]Addleshaw,p.35; Aston,p.247. Note that a picture of Henry VII and the royal arms featured in the *Great Bible*. See Collinson (1988),p.9. On image removal, see Duffy,pp.439-40.

[17]See chapters 5,pp.182-3.

27. Elizabeth I's arms painted over the medieval Last Judgement in St. Margaret's Church, Tivetshall, Norfolk.

Christian focus of worship with a royal image, forestalling charges of idolatry.[18] Heraldry was an acceptable form of representational art in iconophobic post-Reformation England.

The eradication of images from church interiors had its corollary in processional rituals including those staged for funerals. Pre-Reformation ordinances specify that four banners of saints should be borne about the corpse in the funeral procession: a Banner of Trinity (head right); a Banner of Our Lady (head left); one of St. George (foot right); and one of a Saint having special significance to the defunct (foot left).[19] Banners, including presumably those that had been borne in funeral processions, were burned by reformist zealots.[20] The banners of the saints had been borne alongside the bannerolls depicting the family coats of arms of the defunct.[21] Their removal inevitably lent a more chivalric bias to the central section of the funeral convoy, the chariot bearing the coffin.

[18]Duffy,pp.40,157-8; Addleshaw,p.101; Sheils (1989),p.20; Collinson (1988),p.118.

[19]BL, Egerton MS 2642 fol.168; Harley, MS 1776 fol.81 and Bod., Ashmole MS fol.193. Mourners in the Unton portrait bear banners displaying the Unton family arms and the cross of St. George, (Neill (1985),p.160), see figure 9.

[20]John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London: Thomas Harper, 1631),pp.50;117.

[21]Chapter 1,pp.42-3.

The Abolition of Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead

The concept of purgatory was a relatively late addition to medieval eschatology but came to occupy a large role in religious practices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The medieval Church had developed the notion of a purgatorial state, midway between heaven and hell, in response to an increased emphasis on a final Day of Judgement which threatened to consign a large portion of mankind to eternal damnation. Purgatory was officially recognized as part of Christian doctrine at a Church Council of 1274.[12] The idea was that the soul remained in an intermediary state until it had been purged of sin. Intercessionary prayers offered on behalf of the deceased could accelerate the process of purgation but the most effective means of reducing the purgatorial sentence was to employ a priest to say masses for the dead.[13] The practice of saying intercessionary masses and prayers took off and an extensive network of chantries, fraternities and gilds was soon founded. Wills abounded in bequests aiming at speeding the progress of the soul through purgatory.[14] Henry VII established the chapel at Westminster Abbey that would subsequently bear his name and specified that

[12]Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life* (London: Yale University Press, 1991),p.153.

[13]Duffy refers to Purgatory as perhaps '*the* defining doctrine of late medieval Catholicism,pp.8,301,338-78. On indulgences see, ibid,pp.287-98. On purgatory, see Ariès,pp.107,148,153-4,261,306,462-7; T. S. R. Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages: Mortality, Judgement and Remembrance* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972),pp.46-71.

[14]Haigh (1975),p.68. On devotions to the 'Five Wounds', see Duffy,pp.248-58.

no less than ten thousand masses were said for his soul immediately after his death.[15]

The liturgy of the medieval church surrounded elite death and burial with extended prayer, reflecting the influence of the doctrine of purgatory (figure 28).[16] Latin psalms and litanies were said at the deathbed and after death followed a service of commendation and then psalms, antiphons and collects were said at intervals while the body was prepared for burial. The corpse was borne to church to the accompaniment of further psalmody and the church services were protracted: the Office for the Dead (Evensong, Matins and Lauds); the Requiem Mass; a short form of commendation together with censing and sprinkling of the body with holy water; and finally the Burial Service. After the death of Lady Isabel Berkeley (1516) her 'special officer and servant', Thomas Try, 'caused David Sawter to bee said continually untill the day of her burying, for as soon as oon company had seid, on other company of prests bygan, and so she was watched with prayer continually fro Wensday untill Monday'.[17]

Prayers for the deceased infiltrated all areas of worship in a cult of the dead that persisted right up to the Edwardian reign. Funeral memorials were celebrated on the seventh and thirtieth days after burial and on the first anniversary, the

[15]Colvin,pp.172-4;253.

[16]W. H. Frere and F. Proctor, eds., *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer* (London: [n. pub.], 1902); G. Rowell, *The Liturgy of Christian Burial: An Introductory Survey of the Historical Development of Christian Burial Rites* (London: Alcuin Club, 1977),pp.57-72.

[17]Ingram,pp.507-9.

28. Vigil for Anne of Brittany (1514), from BL, Cotton MSS Vespasian B III fol.17v. The two escutcheons show the arms of France and Brittany. The Queen's crown and two sceptres lie on the pall.

week's, month's, and year's 'mind' or remembrance. On these occasions the deceased was symbolically present in the form of a draped hearse surrounded by candles. Annually, All Souls' Day provided a focal point for the Church's liturgy of supplication for the dead. Further, the Offertory in high Mass on Sundays was preceded by the bidding of the bedes which involved praying for the parish dead.[10]

The reformist attack on intercessionary practices was partly based on the belief that they were a means for the church to exploit the people. The main objection, however, was doctrinal. At the Lutheran Synod of Homberg in October 1526, it was recommended that all mention of Purgatory should be avoided since 'at the moment of death all men passed inexorably to Heaven or Hell'.[11] There was general agreement amongst leaders of the Reformation that Purgatory should be abolished. The first official Protestant policy in England involved the dissolution of the chantries and fraternities in 1547 but the authorities were slower to reform the liturgy.[11]

[10]Duffy,pp.124-6,220,327-8,368-76,441.

[11]Aston,p.12; Rowell,pp.74-5; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth-Century England* (London: Penguin Books, 1971),p.702.

[11]Duffy,p.454.

The Burial Liturgy

A Calvinist *Prayer Book*, which omitted all prayers for the dead and the psalms, as well as the Office for the Dead and the Eucharist, was not issued until 1552. The Elizabethan *Prayer Book* adopted in 1559 is the same as the 1552 version with just a few minor textual variations. It is to the 1552 *Prayer Book*, therefore, that we need to turn to establish the Elizabethan burial service.

At the actual interment, the text was altered so that it involved a mere committal of the body, excluding the 1549 *Prayer Book* commendation of the soul and a short litany asking God to deliver souls from hell. The fact that nothing more could be done on behalf of the deceased was underlined in the 1552 *Prayer Book* by the instruction to the minister to turn away from the corpse at the moment of committal and to address instead the remaining mourners that surrounded the grave.[11] The shift in tone and doctrinal emphasis from the 1549 to the 1552 *Prayer Books* can be most clearly demonstrated, however, by direct comparison of the final prayer.[11]

O Lord, with whom do live the spirits of them that be dead, and in whom the souls of them that be elected, after they be delivered from the burden of the flesh, be in joy and felicity; *Grant unto this thy servant, that the sins which he committed*	Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, and in whom the souls of them that be elected, after they be delivered from the burden of the flesh, be in joy and felicity; *We give thee hearty thanks, for that*

[11]Duffy,p.475.

[11]Edward Cardwell, ed., *The Two Books of Common Prayer, [...] of Edward Sixth: Compared With Each Other* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1841),pp.381-2. The 1549 version is on the left.

in this world be not imputed unto him; but that he, escaping the gates of hell, and pains of eternal darkness, may ever dwell in the region of light, with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in the place where is no weeping and sorrow, nor heaviness; and when that dreadful day of the general resurrection shall come, *make him to rise also with the just and righteous, and receive this body again to glory*, then made pure and incorruptible. *Set him on the right hand of thy son Jesus Christ*, among thy holy and elect, that then he may hear with them these most sweet and comfortable words, Come to me, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom which hath been prepared for you from the beginning of the world. *Grant this, we beseech thee, O merciful Father, through Jesus Christ our Mediator and Redeemer.* Amen.

it hath pleased thee to deliver this N. our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world; beseeching thee, that it may please thee, of thy gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect, and to haste thy kingdom; that we, with this our brother, and all other departed in the true faith of thy holy name, may have our perfect consummations and bliss, both in body and soul, in thy eternal and everlasting glory. Amen.

The italics are mine and indicate the ways in which the text was modified to remove all hint of intercession on behalf of the soul of the deceased in the 1552 *Prayer Book*. In line with the doctrine of predestination the mourners rather thank God for already taking the soul of their elect brother to Him. The only remnant of intercession comes in the form of a petition that God will hasten the arrival of the kingdom of the elect or, in other words, the Second Coming.[11]

[11]Gittings,pp.40-2; Rowell,p.86.

Priests, Incense, Candles, Torches and Intercession

While the ecclesiastical community retained a role in the post-Reformation funeral procession, with the link between prayer and intercession broken, their numbers were greatly reduced. In the procession of Lady Isabel Berkeley (d.1516) there appeared 'the orders of freers wyght and gray, with their crosses' and 'prests to the nomber of oon C and more which went with their crosses next before the hersse'.[31] The Dissolution Acts of 1536 and 1539 inevitably meant that monks and friars disappeared from funeral processions. Beadsmen, such as those that had taken part in the funeral of the Duke of Norfolk (1524), met the same fate (figure 29).[32] The poor were, however, retained despite the fact that their presence was originally associated with relieving the pains of purgatory (figure 30). Their non-ecclesiatical status made the justification for their participation more easily transmuted into one of social benefaction.[33]

With the reduction in the numbers of the clergy went a diminution of their role. At Henry VIII's funeral the mini-procession which conveyed the coffin into the funeral chariot was dominated by bishops who preceded the coffin, 'two and two in order, saying their prayers'. When James I's coffin was tranferred into the funeral chariot that would transport it

[31]Ingram, Appendix VIII,pp.508-9.

[32]Gittings,p.29. ('In wax' here probably means 'bearing candles'.) 'Innocents' are also mentioned in the Henry VII ordinance for funerals of noblemen but do not occur in later funerals, British Library, Cotton MSS, Julius B XII,fol.6.

[33]Duffy,pp.358-62,505,510.

29. Beadsmen with rosaries at the funeral of Anne of Cleves, 1557, from BL, Additional MS 35324 fol.9.

30. Alms-women at the Peterborough funeral of Mary Queen of Scots, 1587, from BL, Additional MS 35324 fol.15v.

31. Bishop of London at funeral of Lady Lumley, 1578, from BL, Additional MS 35324 fol.20v. Episcopal sleeveless gown (chimere) over wide-sleeved rochet, black silk scarf and headgear of academic dignitaries.

from Theobalds to Denmark House, the ceremony was effected entirely by officers of the College of Arms.[37] The clergy's loss of status was underlined by the modifications made to liturgical dress. Before the Reformation priests had worn special vestments for Requiem masses but the 1552 *Prayer Book* determined that these should be replaced by plain surplices (figures 31, 32 and 33).[38] The magnificent dress of the heralds would now monopolize the attention of onlookers.

Before the Reformation, it had been customary for the corpse to be censed on arrival at the west door of the church where the funeral was to take place.[39] Censing largely died out.[40] The exclusion of olfactory stimulation reduced the sensual appeal of the funeral procession, limiting it to visual and aural modes of experience.

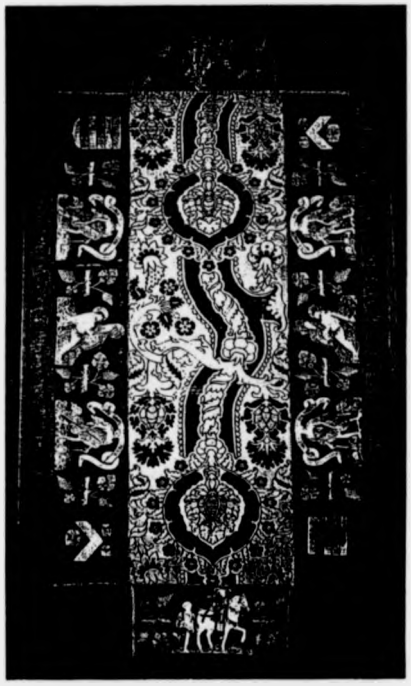
[37]Gittings,pp.224-5.

[38]The church inventory for St. Martin's, Ludgate includes 'Item un vestiment sengle du noir baudekyn' c. 1400, E. S. Dewick, 'On An Inventory of Church Goods Belonging to the Parish of St. Martin, Ludgate', *St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 5 (1905),117-128 (p.124); Sheils (1989),p.45; Duffy,pp.474,484; Harrison,pp.36-7; Thomas,p.327. Martin Bucer's *A brief Discourse against the outward Apparel and ministering Garments of the Popish Church* (1565) offers some evidence for vestment retention but he objected to all forms of ecclesiastical dress and could have simply been referring to the surplice. See Strype,II,553-5.

[39]BL, Egerton MSS, 2642 fol. 168; Rowell,p.66; Sandford,p.440.

[40]Duffy asserts that many clergy in the 1560s and 1570s sprinkled corpses or placed crosses in their hands but gives no supporting evidence,p.598. Incense appears to have been used at St. Mary's, Cambridge from 1559 to 1575, possibly at funerals. See J. Charles Cox, *Churchwarden's Accounts From the Fourteenth Century to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1913),p.184. This is strange as Cambridge was strongly Calvinist during this period and, if so, must have been in defiance of the rules.

32. Chasuble for Requiem Mass, velvet embroidered in silks and metal thread.



33. Funeral pall, late fifteenth century Italian velvet and early sixteenth century English embroidery.

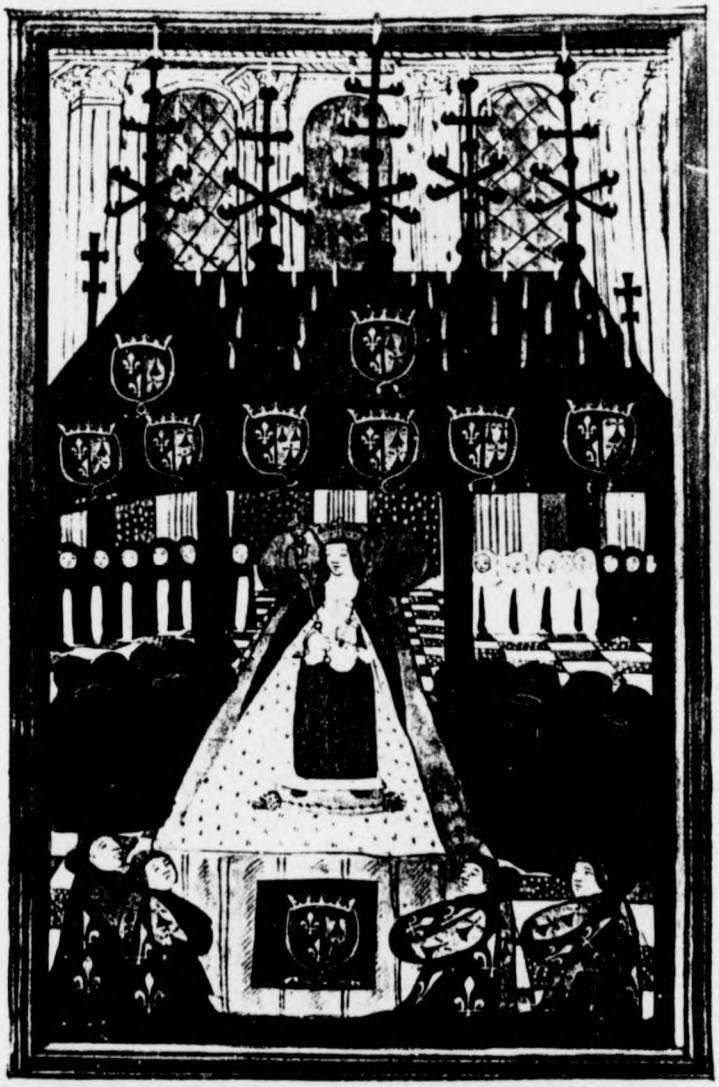
Candles had been an integral part of the pre-Reformation hearse. The original intention may have been to place one candle at each of the four corners of hearse, each candle bearing a shield of arms which represented one of the four quarters of the defunct's inherited nobility.[41] Often, however, many more candles were employed and the catafalque was frequently described as 'a goodly hersse of wax'.[42] The French term for hearse, *chapelle ardente*, reflects the extent to which the candles had become an integral part of its physical structure (figure 34).

Candles were deemed to have an apotropaic power, that is they could charm away evil influence. In addition, they had a distinct intercessionary resonance in pre-Reformation worship. It was not unusual for the candles burnt by coffins to be moved to an altar or image after the funeral. Often testators specified that the candles should burn around the altar at the sacring time. Candles might also be placed around a tomb on the anniversary of death.[43] It is not surprising, therefore, that candles were the object of ritual reform. In 1547 an injunction on the use of candles was used to prevent them being lit around corpses when they were brought into church

[41]Malcolm Vale, *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages* (London: Duckworth, 1981),p.90 citing BN MS fr.1280 fol.131$_v$: an anonymous chivalric treatise written for Louis de Bruges in 1481. Candles were also used during the pre-funeral vigil, see figure 28.

[42]See Machyn's account of the funeral of the Duke of Norfolk (1554), in Framlingham church, Nichols, (1848),p.70. For other examples, see ibid.,pp.81;189.

[43]Cox (1913),pp.160-3; Puckle,p.78; Duffy, pp.96,361. Candles similarly burned before the empty sepulchre, the symbol of Christ's tomb, in Easter week, ibid.,p.30.



34. The *chapelle ardente* enclosing the effigy of Anne of Brittany, in 1514, at the Notre-Dame, Paris, from BN, fr. 5094 fol.40v.

and the practice of adorning the hearse with candles seems to completely disappear under Elizabeth, at least in London.[14] Any mention of candles or wax is notably absent from Machyn's accounts of funerals after the Elizabethan accession.[15] In other regions, however, the use of candles seems to have persisted longer as Bishop Bentham of Coventry and Lichfield's 1565 injunction indicates:

> Away with your lights at the burial of the dead, and instead therof exhort them duly to receive the light of the Gospel, which is the true light [...Ensure] that you do not make the communion a Mass of Requiem for lucre and gain, persuading the people to pray for the dead, but rather call upon them daily to live godly in this life.[16]

The lighting of candles around the corpse was also constantly noted in episcopal visitations: clear evidence of their continued widespread use. Francis Tate's assertion, made in 1600, that 'the custom of burning candles be now growen into disuse, being thought superstitious' may not have been entirely true.[17]

The reformists's discomfort with candle-light extended to the use of torches, coarse forms of taper mixed with resin, in funeral processions.[18] Pre-Reformation funeral processions had abounded in torchlight (figure 35). *The ordering of a*

[14]Duffy,p.462. The Ten Articles (1536) had allowed for the use of candles as symbols of the light of Christ rather than for apotropaic purposes, ibid.,p.394.

[15]See for example the funeral of the Earl of Huntingdon (1560), Nichols, (1848),p.239 and the Countess of Bath (January 1561-2), ibid.,p.275.

[16]Gittings,p.44; Duffy,p.572.

[17]Duffy,p.577. Watch candles were still used, Tate,I,216.

[18]Cox, (1913),p.160.

35. The funeral procession of Jeanne de Bourbon (d. 1378), from BN, fr. 2813 fol.480v.

Funerall for a noble person in Henry 7 time includes: 'Item as many torches as the saide estate wax of yeres of age'.[49] The actual numbers used often vastly exceeded this limiting calculation, however, making for a much more magnificent display. At the funeral of Lady Isabel Berkeley (1516) two hundred torches were borne by members of thirty-three 'crafts'.[50]

Early in her reign Elizabeth herself came out against the use of torches, publicly declaring it a superstitious practice by snubbing the monks that were processing with torches at the opening of parliament on 25 January 1559, saying, 'Away with these torches, for we see very well'. The Homily against idolatry was later to affirm this attitude stating that it was 'ever a proverb of foolishness, to light a candle at noon-time'.[51]

The Funeral Offering Ritual and Intercessionary Practices

The funeral offering ritual is fraught with intercessionary resonance and one would have expected it to be a prime target for reform. Mervyn James has indeed suggested that the

[49]BL, Cotton MSS, Julius B XII, fols 5-6. See also the drawing of the funeral procession of Anne of Cleves (d.1540), figure 12. Flaming torches are borne on both sides of the chariot.

[50]Ingram, Appendix VIII,p.508.

[51]Calendar of State Papers, Venice (CSPV): VII (1558-80),23; *Sermons or Homilies appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of Elizabeth* (London: Prayer-Book and Homily Society, 1817),pp.157-247 (p.211). See also Brigden,p.396.

offering ritual was too controversial to be practised in the period immediately following the Elizabethan settlement and was not reintroduced until later in the reign. Further, he argues that on reintroduction the offering was practised in a secularized context that was chivalric or heroic rather than religious.[51]

James's comments come in the context of a comparative discussion of the funerals of Lord Dacre (15 December 1563) and Thomas Lord Wharton (22 September 1568).[53] In the Dacre funeral procession, the usual three heralds were reduced to two and only the coat of arms was displayed, the helm sword and target being omitted. The achievements were offered during the church service but it is not apparent exactly when. Only one herald was present at the Wharton funeral and it is not clear if even his coat of arms was displayed in the procession. More significantly, no offering ceremony is mentioned in the account.

On the basis of this rather limited evidence James suggests that the traditional offering ceremony was difficult to reconcile with the Burial Service for the Dead in the 1559 *Prayer Book* because of its sensitive associations with the

[51]James (1986),pp.176-87. Gittings recognizes that the offering was the central episode of elite funeral ritual but fails to investigate it fully in the context of the Reformation, simply referring to its anachronistic survival in post-Reformation funerals,pp.178-9.

[53]Bod., Ashmole MS 836 fols 181-2,189-191. James's main interest is in the shifting social and political scene of Tudor England, apparent in the identity of the mourners. He contrasts the regional feudal household with the emergent gentry bureaucracy of the Elizabethan regime who had, he argues, no interest in preserving traditional funeral rites.

intercessionary funeral mass. James further speculates that the Dacre funeral retained only a vestige of the offering ritual, the simple laying of the achievements on the communion table. He goes on to argue that the Whartons, in contrast, abandoned the offering ceremony because they had no family tradition of heraldic funeral ritual to maintain.

I take issue with James's analysis in several ways, firstly disagreeing with his assertion that the offering ritual disappeared in the early years of Elizabeth's rule. Accounts of funerals with details of offering rituals survive for this period and throughout the reign: the Earl of Shrewsbury (1560); Lord Dacre (1563); the Earl of Derby (1572); the 'Instructions for the funeral of a Countess' (1576) which refer to the funeral of the Countess of Huntingdon; Lady Lumley (1578); John Allot (1591); Lady Katherine Berkeley (1596). The funeral offering continued to be practised into the Jacobean period. Examples include: Henry Cock of Hertford (1610); and Gilbert, Earl of Salop, at Sheffield (1616). Clearer evidence that the Elizabethan government did not clamp down on funeral offerings comes from the fact that they were staged at the official London obsequies for the French Kings Henry II (1559) and Charles IX (1572). They also occured at the Sidney funeral in 1587 which was financed by Walsingham. These occasions effectively gave royal sanction to funeral offering rituals.

Where offering rituals are not mentioned in surviving records it does not necessarily follow that they were not enacted. Two separate manuscript accounts of Queen Anne of Demark's

funeral are extant. The College of Arms' version does not mention a funeral offering but the British Library manuscript version does.[54] Heralds, who kept most of the records, were primarily concerned with their fees together with identification of the main participants whom they needed to rank and order. The latter would normally be done in the context of the funeral procession and not require repetition in a description of the offering. The offering had a set form and did not need detailing on each occasion.

References to the achievements and materials for the construction of a hearse are more numerous than descriptions of offering rituals. The achievements could have been used exclusively in the procession but the construction of a hearse supports my contention that the practice of offering rituals was extensive. A hearse would seem to have been superfluous if no offering ceremony was to take place.

There is little evidence to suggest that the funeral offering was indeed officially regarded as Catholic and inappropriate or illegal. In a pronouncement made in 1583 by Marmaduke Middleton, Bishop of St. David's, in which he listed a large collection of popish abuses, offerings at funerals were included.[55] Again, however, the very fact that Middleton felt the need to make this comment in the 1580s indicates that

[54]CA, Nayler,pp.1-24; BL, Harley MS 5176 fol.325.

[55]Gittings,p.44. Middleton was a red-hot Protestant with strong iconoclastic propensities. See F. O. White, *Lives of the Elizabethan Bishops of the Anglican Church* (London: Skeffington, 1898),pp.253-9. Similarly, in his *A pleasant dialogue* (London: [n. pub.], 1581), Anthony Gilby, one of the most illiberal of the protestant reformers, lists offerings at funerals as a popish abuse. See Gilby, Appendix,p.2.

offerings were still common practice.

Not only did the offering ritual survive but it survived in its pre-Reformation form. The offering at the Dacre funeral is virtually the same as the pre-Reformation offering ritual form, an example of which is given in the account of the offering at the funeral of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and his son, Sir Thomas, at Bisham, on 15 February 1462/3. The only way in which the offering ritual appears to have been modified is that at the Salisbury funeral it was the bishop who received the achievements from the mourners and then presented them to the heir. At the Dacre funeral the chief mourner seems to have received them directly from the assistant mourners; the minister merely stands alongside. This might appear to signal a reduced role for the clergy but in post-Reformation funerals where there was no legitimate heir present to receive the achievements, the minister continued to fulfill that role."

While the personnel might have changed on some occasions, the choreography of the funeral ritual remained the same. Even where the chief mourner received the hatchments directly, they were still offered at the altar or communion table, maintaining the religious focus of the proceedings. More surprisingly, the offering of the 'mass penny', money presented to the church on behalf of the defunct, originally to pay for masses, was retained. The clear intercessionary connotations of this practice were apparently no bar to its

"Wagner (1967),pp.106-7; BL, Ashmole MS 836 fol.182. See the funeral offering of Mary Queen of Scots, chapter 4,pp.136,138,142.

continued use under Elizabeth.[10]

Part of the reason why the funeral offering ritual was not a prime target of reform may relate to the fact that its religious content was rooted in symbolic movement, or choreography, rather than iconography.[11] As I have demonstrated, it was the avoidance of idolatry that governed a large part of the reform of churches and church ceremony. All the images used in the offering ceremony are heraldic rather than religious, abstract symbols rather than anthropoid representations: veneration of the saints was peripheral to the cult of the dead. Intercessionary practices were also the subject of official censure, especially where, as in the case of torches and candles, they overlapped with the idolatrous. The symbolic movements of the offering ceremony were largely ignored. Choreography was more acceptable than iconography.

It is true that the symbolism and performance setting of the offering ritual was modified in various ways. With the disappearance of candles, coats of arms and escutcheons came to be the only adornment on the funeral hearse. The processional banners of the saints, which had formerly been placed at the four corners for the church services, were also no longer used.[12] Loss of these religious trappings sharpened the secular focus of the hearse. This shift in tone has, however, been exaggerated and the whole post-Reformation

[10]Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fol.192; Scarisbrick,p.20.

[11]These symbolic movements could be termed kinetic art or the 'kinesic' codes of theatre, see Elam,pp.49-50.

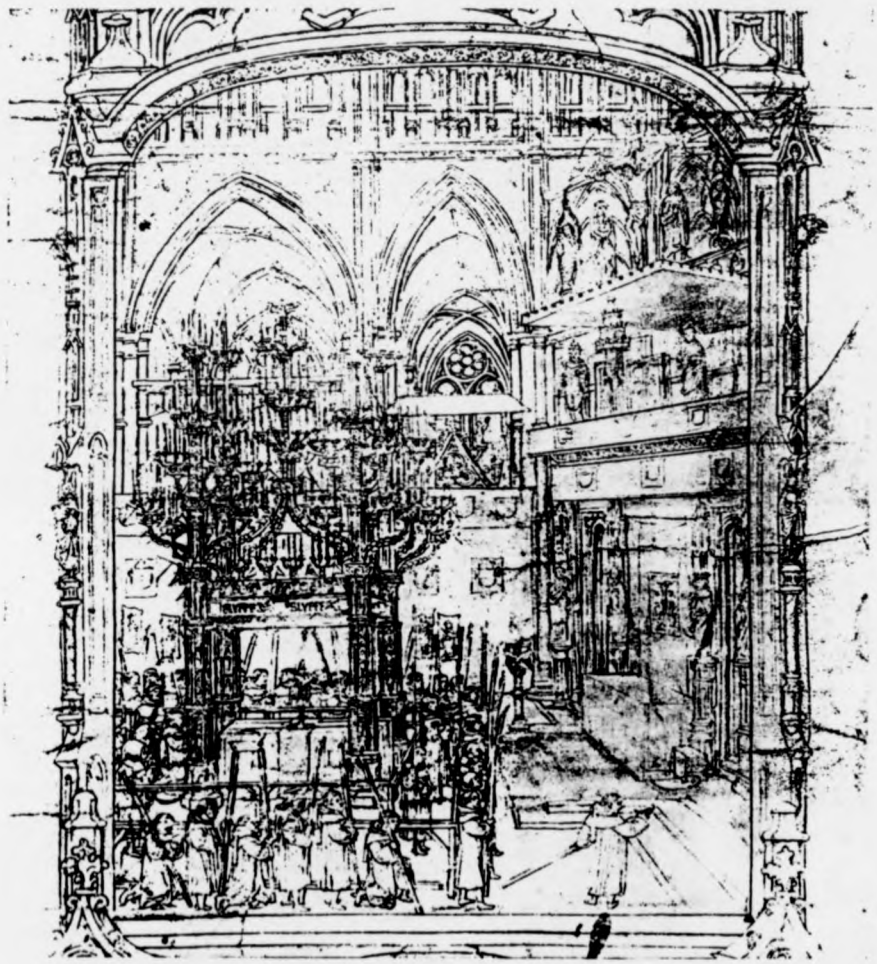
[12]BL, Ashmole MS 857 fol.192.

funeral service has been loosely described in terms of a process of 'secularization'. Such a description ignores the continuity of the core movements of the offering ritual. In addition, while the symbolism of the hearse and tympanum may have been 'secularized', they formed only part of the focal structure of the offering ritual. The other focus, the altar, remained spiritual and was arguably the more dominant since it was there that the succession was ritually enacted (figure 36).[ii] The removal of chantries, statues, wall-paintings and nave altars reduced the multifocality which had characterized the medieval church. The blend of the religious and secular of the funeral service was, however, maintained and indeed tightened in the post-Reformation church. Apart from this symbolic heightening, the offering ceremony, ritual centre of the heraldic medieval funeral continued in its pre-Reformation form.[ii] Paradoxically, where rood screens were removed and/or communion tables moved it became more visible and thus a more familiar ritual form.

It might still be argued that the term 'secularization' could be applied to the hearse adornments and to the funeral procession, located, as it was, outside the church. It would be wrong to suggest, however, that the 'secular' was a new element of post-Reformation funeral ritual or, with Mervyn James, to set an Elizabethan 'chivalric' offering ceremony in

[ii]Chapter 1,pp.55-9.

[ii]Vale agrees with this perception of continuity in funeral practice,pp.90-93. For an offering ritual that took place at a 'communion borde' see the funeral of Thomas Howard, BL, Additional MS 14417 fol.23'.



36. The funeral hearse and the high altar at the obsequies of Abbot Islip, Westminster Abbey, from the *Obituary Roll of John Islip.* (d.1532)

opposition to the medieval religious version.[61] The medieval funeral ceremony was itself chivalric in origin, and chivalry and religion are far from being antithetical.

Funerals, Chivalry and 'Secularization'

The heraldic funeral developed into an intricate and flourishing ritual in the fourteenth century and fifteenth centuries, partly as a result of the rise of heralds as a professional group, but also in response to the changing ritual requirements of the chivalric class.[63] As Maurice Keen has shown, 'blood' became the primary qualification for knighthood, in the late thirteenth century. The logical consequence for ritual was a decline in the practice of the formal dubbing ceremony. Instead a ceremony was required that would demonstrate the continuity of the nob ility in blood lineage through the paternal line. I suggest that the heraldic funeral, with its central offering ceremony functioning as a ritualized succession, took over as the dominant rite of chivalry and of the elite. The heraldic bannerolls, with their record of family descent, underlined this role. The arms multiply displayed in both procession and

[61]Gittings sees the funeral ritual undergoing a continued process of secularization, initiated by the Reformation and leading to the highly secular funeral occasions of the eighteenth century,pp.56-7. Neill also writes rather misleadingly of an 'antiquarian fuedalism' which characterized Renaissance royal funerals. See Neill (1985),p.154.

[63]See Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984) to which I am much indebted in the following discussion; and Vale,pp.92-3.

church service, were family insignia to which most men had become entitled as a result of heredity not because they had been dubbed as knights. The heraldic funeral was not a replacement ritual: dubbings to knighthood and knightly orders would continue to flourish well into the sixteenth century and beyond. The wider practice of heraldic funeral rituals meant, however, that they were to have greater significance.[10]

The social and secular aspects of the medieval heraldic funeral was always inseparable from the religious. Malcolm Vale has aptly called the funeral ceremony, 'perhaps the quintessential late medieval expression of the fundamental and complementary relationship between sacred and profane'.[11] As in the wider world of chivalry of which the funeral ritual was a part, 'martial, aristocratic and Christian elements were fused together'.[12] The heraldic funeral celebrated the social status of the deceased in this life as well as contributing to the fate of his soul in the next. The ecclesiastics and heralds who took part enjoyed a largely symbiotic relationship in the pre-Reformation funeral ritual, disturbed only by occasional wrangles over the division of funeral perquisites.[13]

[10]Elizabethan chivalric rituals included, at an exalted level, the Garter processions. See Strong (1987),pp.164-185. I am not denying that there was a 'revival' of chivalry as far as Elizabethan and Jacobean court display was concerned. See Arthur B. Ferguson, *The Chivalric Revival in Renaissance England* (London: Associated University Presses, 1986); and Strong (1987),pp.129-85.

[11]Vale,p.91.

[12]Keen,pp.2-3,16-17,53-7.

[13]Tate,I,205. On heralds' rights to funeral perquisites, see BL, Harley MS 6064 fol.109.

The secular elements of the heraldic funeral, achievements, escutcheons of arms, heralds and funeral horses were all crucial elements of the original medieval ritual form. Achievements, banners, heralds and war-horses are all evident in the earliest surviving accounts of funeral rituals. In January 1269, for example, William de Beauchamp willed that a 'barbed horse [...] with warlike equipment' should precede his corpse in his funeral procession.[11] The only 'new' secular element of the Elizabethan funeral offering was royal, the royal arms which had replaced the rood cross on the tympanum. Positioned in a line of sight above the hearse they provided the congregation with a constantly-visible seal of state approval on all church services including the ritual proceedings of aristocratic succession. In churches where the communion table had been moved to the chancel steps, or where the rood screen had been dismantled, this symbol of state power would preside over the dual aspects of the offering ritual, religious and secular.

The royal arms had already become a part of the funeral processions, embroidered, as they were, on the tabards of the heralds (figure 37).[12] At funerals prior to their incorporation by Richard III, the King's heralds may have regularly worn the arms of the defunct. Such was the case at the funeral of the Earl of Salisbury in 1462/3. (In the fifteenth century it had been quite common for individual

[11]M. H. Bloxham, *Fragmentaria Sepulchralia: A Glimpse of the Sepulchral and Early Monumental Remains of Great Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1840-50),p.132 cited by Vale,p.89.

[12]Cunnington and Lucas,p.207. See chapter 1,pp.46-7.

37. Tabard of John Anstis the elder, velvet embroidered in silks and metal thread, early eighteenth century.

members of the nobility to keep their own private officers of arms, heralds and pursuivants but this practice had declined by the sixteenth century.)"[11] Only Lancaster herald wore the arms of the defunct at the funeral of the Earl of Derby (1572) and he was not a King of Arms. All the other Officers of Arms, who marched before the coffin, bore the royal coat, underlining the defunct Earl's loyalty to the Crown. The state was appropriating funeral ritual even before the Reformation.

Royal Appropriation and the Resilience of Funeral Ritual

The royal appropriation of the funeral ritual provides one of the reasons why its symbolic centre, the offering ceremony, was permitted to retain its pre-Reformation form despite its marked intercessionary resonance. The ritual enactment of aristocratic succession, once placed within the context of a monarchical hierarchy, served the interests of the state.

The dominant presence of the royal arms in both procession and church services is not the only signal of royal interest in and approval of the heraldic funeral ceremony. Further evidence comes from the fact that on a number of occasions Queen Elizabeth and Lord Burghley blocked the preparations of heraldic funerals, insisting on a level of pomp appropriate to the rank of the deceased. Where her own family was concerned, the Queen even helped to foot the bill rather than allow a

[11]Wagner (1978),p.79; Maclagan,p.37.

funeral to occur without the appropriate level of ceremonial. The sum of £1,047 6*s*. 1½*d*. was paid for the funeral of Henry, Lord Hunsdon, in 1596, 'which was honourably solemnized according to the Queens Command, he dying Intestate'.[71] On other occasions, pressure was put upon executors to comply with the requirements of the College of Arms which acted as royal agent. In her 1568 Visitation letter to Clarenceux, Elizabeth urged the herald to 'reform and controul such as at any Funerals should wear any Mourning Apparrel, as Gowns, Hoods, Tippets, contrary to the Order limited in the time of King Henry VII in any other sort than to their States did appertain'.[71]

Elizabethan Crown intervention might also result in the relocation of a funeral ceremony. With increasing numbers of aristocrats gravitating towards the capital, the trend was for fewer heraldic funerals to be staged in the provinces. It was in the interests of the monarchy, however, to ensure that these displays of hierarchical order continued. When his father died in 1597, Henry, Lord Cobham, wanted to have a London funeral. Lord Burghley intervened, however, as this letter from Cobham to Burghley's son, Sir Robert Cecil illustrates:

> I could have wished your father would have allowed [...] my father's funeral to have been performed at London [...] for neither house nor the church is fit

[71]BL, Harley MS 3881 fols 56,59; British Library, Lansdowne MS 82 fol.123; BL, Harley MS 4774 fol.128. The Queen also paid for the funerals of Lady Catherine Knollys (1569) (see Gittings,pp.182-3; and Stone (1965),pp.578-9) and William Parr (1571), brother of Queen Catherine Parr, who is buried at St. Mary's, Warwick.

[71]Strype,I,558.

> for the performing of it here. Your father's will amongst us must stand for law without any further dispute, otherwise this place is so unmeet for it, as whereas I had hoped to have had honour in burying of my father, I shall now receive shame.

Cobham bows to the wishes of the state and performs his father's funeral in Kent.[73] Similarly, Sir Nicholas Bacon (d. 1578) recognized that the Queen had ultimate authority over the location of his burial, writing in his will, 'And as for my Body, I commit the same to be buried where the Queen's Majesty shall think most meet and convenient'.[74]

The continuity of aristocratic power enacted in the offering ritual and affirmation of society's hierachical order in the funeral procession both set in the context of the ultimate power of the monarchy, made heraldic funerals valuable instruments of state propaganda. The funeral procession would, in many areas, have been the only surviving parish procession. Parish processions had figured large in late medieval Catholicism: parish processions preceded each Sunday Mass and each major festival as well as guild processions on feast days. While civic secular processions, such as mayoral inaugurations, continued, all religious processions were abolished in the 1547 Injunctions. The funeral procession, in many areas, was now unique in enacting social order and hierarchy.[75] In addition, pewing, an alteration to church interiors that was accelerated by the Reformation, brought

[73]Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Salisbury MSS* Series 9,VII,117.

[74]Strype,II,547.

[75]Duffy,p.451. Rogationtide boundary processions were retained in the 1559 Injunctions, ibid,p.568. On the functions of processions, see chapter 1,pp.32-3,43-5.

social hierarchy into the church. Pews also directed congregational attention forwards and upwards, further increasing the impact of the royal arms.[76]

The government's interest in funeral ritual reflects its general recognition of the social value of religious ritual and ceremony. William Cecil saw that the crux of religious controversy was not 'doctrine, but [...] rites and ceremonies'.[77] Archbishop Jewel (1522-71), whose *Apologia* (1562) was a key document in establishing the Anglican position, was convinced that the 'scenic apparatus' of worship was, as Aston puts it, 'more striking and more perceptible to most than specific or subtle alterations in the content of belief'.[78]

The ambiguity of the government position in relation to changes affecting ceremonial behaviour, already noted in the guidelines on the position of communion table and pulpit and on retention of the rood screen, is also apparent in official pronouncements on funeral ritual practice. The extreme

[76]Addleshaw,p.87; Scarisbrick,p.164; Aston,p.332; Collinson,p.55. There is no evidence of general pewing until the fifteenth century. Previously there had been benches around the walls and piers for the aged and the infirm. The majority of the congregation would stand if not kneeling, Cox, (1913),p.186.

[77]The comment was made in a letter to William Whittingham in 1562. See M. A. E. Green ed., *Life of Mr William Whittingham, Dean of Durham* (Camden Miscellany 6, 1871),p.16 cited by Aston,p.12.

[78]Aston,p.12. Jewel's phrase 'scenic apparatus' appears in a letter to Peter Matyr from early in Elizabeth's reign, 'Agitur nunc de sacro et scenico apparatu', Ayre,pp.1209-11. Richard Hooker similarly writes of the 'visible signes' which are 'fittest to make a deep and lasting impression'. See *The Works of Richard Hooker*, ed. by W. Speed Hill and others, 3 vols (London: Harvard University Press, 1977-90),I (1977),274.

Calvinist position which forbade prayers, singing and sermons was rejected.[77] Instead the government followed Luther who, believing that the masses were most moved by the 'surface displays' of ceremony, permitted funeral services with processions and singing.[78] The majority of Elizabethan funeral processions seem to have included singing men and boys from church or private chapel choirs (figure 38).[81] Psalm-singing in English replaced the chanting of Latin prayers for the dead and organs were silenced, though few were taken down.[82] Despite superstitious associations with the driving out of evil and even the raising of the dead, bell-ringing, an important feature of the medieval funeral, was also retained.[83] The extensive ringing that had taken place at pre-Reformation funerals, such as that of Lady Isabel Berkeley (1516) when a total of 156 peals were rung at various locations, was stopped.[84] Yet the government recognized the social value of a bell being rung to mark the death of a member of the community and the Bishop's *Interpretations* (1561) allowed one short peal to be tolled before and after

[77]Rowell,p.82; Colvin,p.296. The Calvinist position is reflected in John Knox's *Genevan Service Book* (1556) and in the Scottish *Book of Discipline* (1560) which 'judged it best, that neither singing nor reading be at the burial'.

[78]Joroslav Pelikan, ed., *Luther's Works* (Saint Louis, Mo.: Concordia, 1955-8),IX (1955),7; cited by Aston,p.13.

[81]Examples includes the processions of Francis Talbot (1560); Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk (1563); the Earl of Derby (1572); Henry Sidney (1586); and Thomas Egerton (1599). See chapter 1,p.28.

[82]One example is that of St. Martin's, Leicester which was removed in 1562-3. See Cox (1913),p.183; Aston,p.335; Duffy,p.465.

[83]Weever,p.122; Thomas,pp.34-6,59-60,85; Scarisbrick, pp.44-5; Gilby, Appendix,p.2.

[84]Ingram, Appendix VIII,p.508.

38. Choirboys and Gentlemen of Queen Elizabeth's chapel at her funeral, from BL, Additional MS 35324 fol.31v. The choirboys wear black cassocks and white surplices; the clergy are in robes of different colours embroidered with gold, and black hats.

both death and burial. Thus, an aural religious element was retained in the post-Reformation funeral procession.[15]

The Elizabethan government understood that changes to the church ritual and furniture were more divisive and controversial than changes to the liturgy. Medieval parishioners invested much both emotionally and financially in the ceremony and fabric of their churches.[16] It was to such changes that hostile reactions to reform, such as the Western Rising of 1549, had tended to be directed. The rebels on that occasion had made various demands including the restoration of processions and the cult of the dead.[17] Yet official ambiguity even extended to the liturgy. While all prayers for the dead were removed from the Elizabeth *Prayer Book* and the 1560 Latin Primer, the 1559 Elizabethan Primer, or Book of Hours, paradoxically contained distinct prayers for the dead, and praying for the dead was never expressly forbidden.[18]

The cathlocity of government-sanctioned funeral ritual would inevitably meet with some hostility from left-wing Protestants. How could the authorities defend and justify such funeral rituals? The continuity in funeral ritual forms and symbolism contrasts with a distinct alteration in the rhetoric that was to describe it. William Cecil's comments on

[15]Bell-ringing was not acceptable to all. See Philip Henry, *Diaries and Letters 1631-96*, ed. by M. H. Lee (London: [n. pub.], 1882),p.116.

[16]Sheils (1989),p.41; Aston,p.11. On struggles over ceremonies, see Duffy,p.442.

[17]Duffy,pp.131-2,466; O'Day,pp.187-8.

[18]Duffy,pp.209,567; Strype,I,82.

the funeral of his wife (April 21 1589) illustrate the point: 'I do not celebrate this Funeral in this sort with any Intention thereby, as the corrupt Abuse hath been in the Church, to procure of God the Relief or the Amendment of the State of her Soul; who is dead in body only'. He declares himself confident that her soul already resides in heaven. (The very need to make this kind of explanation demonstrates the relative homogeneity of Catholic and Anglican funeral ceremonies.) Burghley goes on to identify the 'real' reasons behind the funeral ceremony:

> But yet I do otherwise most willingly celebrate this Funeral, as a Testimony of my hearty Love, which I did bear her, with whom I lived in the State of Matrimony 40 and two Years also, without any Unkindness, to move separation, or any Violation of Matrimony at any Time.
>
> Further, this that is here done for the Assembly of our Friends, is to testify to the World, what Estimation, Love and Reverence God bears to the Stock whereof she did come, both by her Father and Mother: As manifestly may be seen about her Hearse, by the sundry Coats of Noble Houses joyned in Blood with her. Which is not done for any vain Pomp of the World, but for Civil duty towards her Body; that is to be with Honour regarded, for the assured Hope of the Resurrection thereof at the last Day."

In place of the religious doctrines of intercession came civil justifications for the ceremony, prompted by the need to deny that the ceremony reflected heretical beliefs in intercession for the souls of the dead.

Government ambivalence created a liminal space in which the core of the medieval funeral ritual was allowed to persist. As I have demonstrated some catholic practices, the use of

"Strype,III,597. See also Richard Hooker's, 'Of the Rites of Burial', in Speed Hill,II,409-413.

candles, for example, persisted. Even where opposition from reformers was strong, the government displayed a lack of vigour in enforcing ritual change. Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign and under James ritual practices that had initially met with official hostility, such as the bearing of torches, were to be re-adopted and given royal sanction as I shall demonstrate in chapter 7. This was not, however, a government led process. Many catholic funeral practices, especially outside London, were maintained through Elizabeth's reign in despite of official policy. In his *A Pleasant Dialogue* (1581), Gilby lists one hundred popish abuses which 'deforme the Englishe reformation, including the presence of beadsmen at funerals.[10]

Crosses had been borne in medieval funeral processions and a white cross adorned most funeral palls.[11] The Reformation attempted to do away with these images of the crucifixion and, as Machyn notes, at the funeral of Sir John Sentlow there was 'nodur cross nor prest, nor clarkes'. Yet, at the funeral of Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury (1560) a 'pall of cloth of gold, with a cross of white sattin' covered the corpse as it lay in the chapel at the manor of Sheffield where he had died. Talbot was a Catholic sympathizer and it is tempting to see the use of the cross as an indication of a surreptitious Catholic rite. The funeral took place, however, after the Acts of Royal Supremacy and Uniformity and the Royal Injunctions, all proclaimed in 1559, and the Thirty-Nine Articles of 1563 when it is likely that the new ritual forms

[10]Gilby, Appendix,p.2.

[11]Duffy,p.467.

had not been formulated.[11] Yet other examples of a pall cross, at funerals at St. Dunstan's in Canterbury for example, post-date the publication of the Thirty-Nine Articles (1563) when the status of the cross was no longer surrounded with confusion. In addition episcopal visitations, which often focused on funeral ritual, expose the use of crosses as one of the most recalcitrant areas of continuing Catholic practice.[12]

There is clear evidence of abundant bell-ringing not long into Elizabeth's reign, despite the 1563 restriction to single peals of only an hour in length. Many peals were rung, for example, at the funeral of Sir Nicholas Bacon (1578) and at each stage during the funeral journey of Sir Henry Sidney (1586) from Worcester to Penshurst in Kent.[13] Gilby, for one, continued to voice attacks on the retention of bells but many funeral accounts include charges for bell-ringing.[14] At Elizabeth's funeral in 1603 a bell-ringer would feature in the procession. The tolling of bells to invite prayers for the deceased was of course vetoed, but even this practice seems to have continued and Grindal found it necessary to inveigh

[11]F. Peck, ed., *Desiderata Curiosa*, 2 vols (London: Thomas Evans, 1779),II,253-5; Henry Gee and William John Hardy, eds., *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London: Macmillan, 1896). Other 'Catholic' funerals took place in 1558, including those of Mary Tudor (see Nichols (1848),p.182) and Bishop Griffin of Rochester (see *Strype*,I,iii,31).

[12]Duffy,pp.577,586.

[13]Bod., Ashmole MS 836 fols 21-38; BL, Lansdowne MS 50 fols 191-4. See also, Rowell,p.91; W. P. Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation: the Struggle for a Stable Settlement of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968),pp.167-8,355.

[14]Aston,p.335.

against bell-ringing on All Saints Eve in 1571."

Why should these ritual practices have been so resistant to change? It is perhaps unsurprising, however, that the inertia attached to all ceremonial forms, is found to be particularly pronounced in the case of funeral rituals. The emotional and psychological disturbance caused by a death in the community is profound. The value of the funeral ceremony's ritual re-statement of social stability and order ensured its survival despite opposition from left-wing reformers. It was in the ritual forms of the funeral and the cult of death that the community achieved its main solace." Few would renounce the intercessionary benefits of funeral ritual. It was inevitably an area on which feelings were most conservative: no-one wanted to risk jeopardising the fate of his soul. *The Admonition to the Parliament* (1572) bears witness to the recalcitrance of the population in many regions when faced with funeral ritual reform:

> Bothe in Countrye and Citie, for the place of buryall, which way they muste lie, how they must be fetched to churche, the minister meeting them at churche stile with surplesse, wyth a companye of greedie clarkes, that a crosse white or blacke, must be set upon the deade corpes, that breade muste be given to the poore, and offrings in buryall time used, and cakes sent abrode to frendes, then by the authoritie of the boke. Small commaundement will serve for the accomplishing of such things. But great charge will hardly bring the least good thing

"Henry Chettle, 'The Order and Proceeding at the Funerall of [...] Elizabeth Queene of England [...] 28th April 1603', in *A Third Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts*, 3 vols (London: F. Gogan, 1751),I; Gittings,p.44; Duffy,p.548; Thomas,p.722; Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993),p.251.

"Duffy,pp.114,213-20. On discrepant behaviour providing a clue to human nature, see Introduction,p.15.

> to passe, and therefore all is let alone, and the people as blind and ignorant as ever they were. God be mercyfull unto us."

Much later, in his *Religio Medici* (1643), Sir Thomas Browne would list praying for the dead and the ringing of a bell amongst the heresies that he had been tempted to commit."

It is important to remember also that the operative nature of ritual relies on its symbolic elements triggering the process of sublimation. The continued use of the uncontroversial non-religious images, the heraldic achievements and banners, maintained a symbolic content in the funeral ritual. The persistent appeal of torches and bells would seem to have been because these features enriched the sensory appeal and symbolism of the ritual, enhancing the level of sublimation.[110] The ambiguity of government policy on ceremony may reflect a recognition of the human need for a sublime ritual as a defence against the uncertainty and disturbance of death.[111]

"W. H. Frere and C. E. Douglas, *Puritan Manifestoes: A Study of the Origin of the Puritan Revolt* (New York: Lenox Hill, 1907; repr. 1972),p.28.

"Sir Thomas Browne, *The Major Works*, ed. by C. A. Patrides (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977),pp.67-8.

[111]On evidence for the neural and organic effects of percussion instruments, including bells and drums, and the high incidence of their use in death rituals, see Rodney Needham, 'Percussion and Transition', *Man*, n.s.2, no.4 (1967),606-614.

[111]Taken as a whole my demonstration of the resilience ritual forms in the funeral context represents an important qualification of the generally-held view that the Reformation signalled a shift away from ritualism and symbolism. See Scarisbrick,p.163; Collinson (1988),p.99; Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991),p.136.

THE RENAISSANCE ROYAL FUNERAL AND SUCCESSION RITUALS: ENGLAND AND FRANCE

Succession and the Royal Offering Ritual in England

The function of the offering ritual in the heraldic funeral was to enact the succession of a noble family.[1] It is perhaps logical to assume a similar ritual would demonstrate the succession at royal funerals where the need for a display of continued social order would be that much greater. Certainly, as the obsequies of Henry VII demonstrate, an offering ceremony took place in the English royal funeral. During the church service, 'Three masses [were] solemnly sung by Bishops, at the last of which were offered the Banners, Courser, Coat of Arms, Sword, Target and Helmet . the nobility likewise offering their rich palls of cloth of Gold and Baudekyn'.[1] Here is the offering of the achievements that featured in the Derby funeral but it is not clear from the sources who offers the various items or to whom. Were the achievements offered directly to the new king in a form of 'creation' ceremony as they were to Derby's heir?

A surviving account of the funeral of Edward IV (1483) gives us a usefully detailed description of the royal offering ceremony. I suggest that we can take this as a probable model for the offering ritual at the funeral of Henry VII. The offering took place while the Requiem Mass was being sung.

[1]The offering ritual of the English heraldic funeral was also practised in this form at the funerals of French noblemen, Vale,p.92.

[1]College of Arms, Briscoe MS fol.312; Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fol.340.

> [The] officers of armes wente to the vestyary, wher they receyved a riche embrowdred cote of armes, which Garter king of armes hyld wt as grete rev'ence as he cowde at the hede of the said herse till the offering tyme . aft' that the erle of Lincoln had offered the masse peny p'sented it to the Marquis of Dors' and to th' erle of Huntingdon, they to offre it; and the said Gart' receyved it ageyn of the archebishop, and hyld it stille at the high auter ende till the masse was done.[3]

The shield, sword, and crown were similarly offered and then the courser which was led up from the door of the church. The achievements were, then, offered to the altar and then returned to the heralds; the new king did not take part in the proceedings.

If one considered only this funeral occasion, one might suppose that the absence of Edward V from his father's funeral was related to his minority status or to strife over the Protectorship. Yet absence of the succeeding monarch at the funeral ceremony was traditional. None of the Tudor monarchs mourned at the funerals of their predecessors.[4]

The internal logic of the royal offering ritual was, however, compatible with the absence of the succeeding monarch. The achievements offered during the ritual pertained to the private titles of the deceased monarch, which would not be transferred to the new king. The symbolism that surrounds the offering was limited to commemoration of the dead King and

[3] 'An Extract relating to the Burial of King Edward IV', *Archeaologia* 1 (1777),348-355 (p.353).

[4] The chief mourner at the funeral of Henry VIII was the Marquis of Dorset; at that of Edward VI, it was the Marquis of Winchester and at Elizabeth's, it was the Marchioness of Northampton. Edward IV assisted at the funeral of his father in 1495 but Richard of York had not been king.

commendation of his soul to God, the achievements were offered to the altar. The insignia of royalty, sword, orb and sceptre did not appear in this part of the royal ceremony. There was no enactment of the royal succession here.

The royal funeral did, however, play a crucial role in enacting the royal succession, as will be seen in the subsequent chapters dealing with the funerals of Elizabeth and James. In order to prepare for these chapters, I here provide a brief survey of the succession rituals of royal funerals in Renaissance France, in particular the effigy ritual, to facilitate comparison with English practice and discussions of possible cross-fertilization. The royal funeral in France has usefully been the subject of detailed study in recent years, making a great deal of material readily available for comparative analysis.[1]

Succession Rituals in the French Royal Funeral: 1422-1574

The funeral of Charles VI in 1422 is particularly useful in highlighting the succession rituals of French royal funerals. On this occasion the succession of the boy-king Henry VI of England was contested by the Dauphin Charles VII. The rivalry between the two claimants extended the usual ceremonial gap

[1] See Giesey (1960). My M.A. dissertation 'The Theatre of Death: Politics, Ritual and Ideology in the Royal Funeral of Charles IX' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Warwick, 1992) builds on Giesey's work looking at what happened to French royal funeral ritual during the upheaval of the Wars of Religion.

between the death of one monarch and the coronation of the next, creating a ceremonial interregnum.[6] There were two ritual developments at the funeral of Charles VI that attempted to fill this ceremonial interregnum.

The first development involved the ritual declaration of the accession. It was at the funeral of Charles VI that the traditional call to pray for the soul of the deceased king was first countered with the cry 'Vive le roi!' and the proclamation of the new king, Henry VI of England, in an effort to ritually forestall the claims of the Dauphin Charles. These pronouncements, that would later develop into the well-known formula, provided an opportunity for a ritual demonstration and acknowledgement of the succession.

The succession ritual of the burial cries similarly took place at the interment in the funeral of Charles IX (1574).[7] Once the coffin was lowered into the vault, the heralds laid their coats of arms against the surrounding wooden railing. The captains of the guard laid their ensigns alongside. The King's achievements and the royal insignia, sceptre, crown and hand of justice were placed right inside the vault. The herald cried out three times, 'Le Roy est mort' and then, as the Banner of France was raised on high, he gave the counter cry, again thrice-repeated, 'Vive le Roy Henry troisième de ce nom a qui Dieu donne bonne vie'. At this, the ensigns and coats of arms were recovered from the barrier and held aloft

[6]Giesey (1960),pp.132-5.

[7]See Appendix II for an account of the funeral of Charles IX (1574).

(figure 39). The royal insignia remained in the grave, however, and were not seen publicly until the coronation of the next king.

The burial cries, however, merely repeated the proclamation which took place on the day of the previous monarch's decease. There remained a display problem as far as the person of the King was concerned. Up until 1380, the succeeding monarch had always participated in his father's obsequies. At each of the four successive royal funerals, however, the successor was absent for demonstrable reasons: minority status at the funerals of Charles V (1380) and Louis XI (1483); contested succession at that of Charles VI (1422); and estrangement from the father at the funeral of Charles VII (1461).[8] Apart from the anomalous situation in 1422, the succession in all these cases was legally effective from the day of the death of the previous monarch. Yet the non-appearance of the new king created a fictive interregnum in the realm of royal ceremonial.

The second ritual development which occurred at the funeral of Charles VI, where the ceremonial interregnum was given greater urgency because it reflected a real political interregnum, was the fashioning of a life-like effigy of the defunct monarch (figure 40). The body of Charles VI could not have been preserved long enough for it to feature in the funeral procession which was delayed by the late arrival in Paris of the English Regent, the Duke of Bedford. Thus the effigy filled the ceremonial interregnum and demonstrated the

[8]Giesey (1960),pp.41-6.

39. The burial of Charles VII at Saint-Denis (1461), from an illuminated manuscript of Martial d'Auvergne, *Vigilles de la mort de Charles VII* (c.1461), BN, fr. 5054 fol.249.

40. Funeral procession of Charles VI (1422), from BN, fr. 5054 fol.27v.

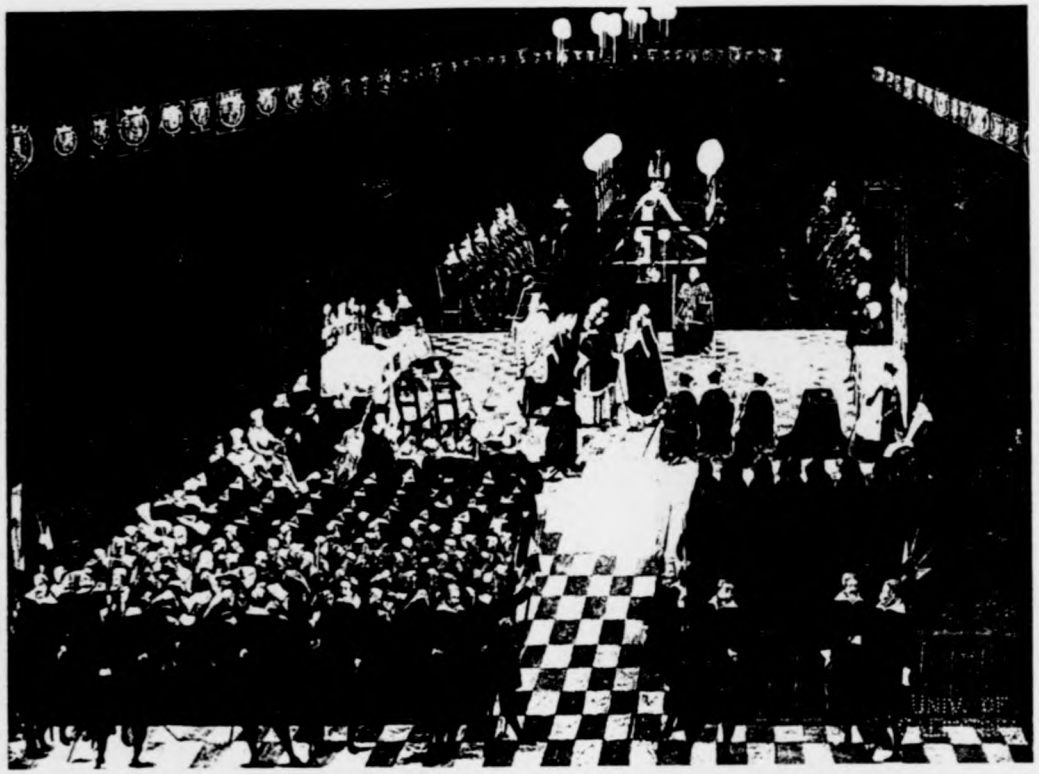
perpetuity of kingship. It was displayed in the funeral procession and lay in a hearse during the church services until the interment where the death of the old king was finally publicly declared.[9]

The French effigy ritual was to become a highly elaborate and magnificent form. At the funeral of Charles VIII (1498) the doleful convoy that brought the black-draped, encoffined body to the capital was transformed as it entered Paris, the richly dressed effigy then being placed on a brilliant cloth-of-gold pall, on top of the coffin. In the same instant, the colourful heraldic ensigns borne in the procession were unfurled and trumpets sounded a note of triumph. All this strikingly pre-echoed the Royal Entry that the new king would make following his coronation rites.[10]

At the funeral of Francis I (1547) the effigy entered the first part of the ritual performance, the lying-in-state. The encoffined body was traditionally displayed in a bed of state for a month (figure 41). On this occasion the effigy lay in its place for the first part of the ceremony. Here the fiction of the effigy perpetuating the dead monarch's sovereignty reached its zenith: the effigy being treated just as if it were the still living king. For a period of eleven days the effigy lay in state on a richly decorated bed in the *salle d'honneur* while meals were served to it at the usual hours of dinner and supper with all the forms and ceremonies

[9]Giesey (1960),p.143. See chapters 5,pp.155,158-163 and 10,pp.297,302-4.

[10]Giesey (1960),pp.108-112. On the funeral ritual as a Triumph, see Segar (1602),p.138.



41. 'Pompe funèbre de Charles III, Duc de Lorraine (1608), from J. Gregor, *Denkmäler des Theaters*, Munich (1926),IV,pl.IV. The coffin in the *salle de deuil*.

that had been observed during the king's lifetime (figure 42).[11]

The funeral of Charles IX (1574) came in the midst of the French Wars of Religion at a time of Crown weakness when the need to demonstrate the continuity of monarchical authority was great.[11] On this occasion the effigy alone was displayed for the full four weeks of the lying-in-state ritual. Thus the perpetuity of Majesty was enacted more emphatically than ever.

Modification of the ritual into this form appears to have been deliberate. Admittedly, in his account of the Francis I funeral, Pierre Du Chastel, the humanist Bishop of Mâcon who was one of the organizers of the funeral, had glossed over the fact that the effigy had only been displayed for one week. If this had been the only source available to Catherine de Medici and her advisors, the expansion of the role of the effigy could be seen as an accidental misreading of precedent innocent of political intent. That is, to use Sally Moore's terms, a case of regularization rather than situational

[11]For a full account of the effigy lying-in-state ritual at Charles IX's funeral, see Appendix II. Precedents exist for the ritual serving of a meal to the empty chair of the deceased, Giesey (1960),p.159. The ritual also recalls medieval German coronation ceremonies where noblemen served food to the newly-crowned king in 'a symbolic representation of their willingness to be regarded as the king's officers like the steward and his fellow officials', Percy E. Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, trans. by Leopold G. Wickham Legg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937),pp.62-3;70.

[11]R. J. Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion 1559-1598* (Harlow: Longman, 1989),pp.26,38-9; J. H. M. Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Ernest Benn, 1975),p.154; Sarah Hanley, *The 'lit de Justice' of the Kings of France: Constitutional Ideology in Legend, Ritual and Discourse* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983),pp.154,159,161,169-72.

42. 'Pompe funèbre de Charles III, Duc de Lorraine (1608), from J. Gregor, *Denkmäler des Theaters*, Munich (1926),IV,pl.III. *Table de service* in the presence of the effigy.

adjustment.[13] Yet the organizers undoubtedly also had available to them the recently published *Recueil Des Roys de France* (1567) by Jean Du Tillet, acknowledged expert on French court ceremonial.[14] Here it was clearly stated that the effigy was to be served for only eight to ten days and then replaced by the corpse.

We seem, then, to be dealing with a calculated attempt to impress the factious nobility with a strong ritual statement of the perpetuity of royal authority. As Du Tillet is at pains to stress, the ritual serving of meals to the effigy was to involve not just the late King's household but all those who had been accustomed to speak or respond to his majesty during his lifetime and that this included, 'tant princes, princesses, prelats, outre ceux de sa maison'.[15] The nobility, then, had prescribed roles in the ritual and, if they wished to avoid overt rebellion, had little choice about their participation. The expanded effigy ritual allowed the Crown greater scope to demonstrate its power both to and over the nobility whose very presence implied support for the monarchy, like it or not. In the staging of the effigy ritual, the monarchy created power. Power can be a performative act.

[13]Introduction,p.18.

[14]Jean Du Tillet had witnessed the funeral of Francis I and later wrote an historical treatise and analysis of the royal funeral ceremonial, *Recueil Des Roys de France: Leurs Couronne et Maison* (Paris: Pierre Mettayer, 1567). He was also Clerk of the Parlement of Paris, see Giesey (1960),p.122.

[15]Du Tillet,p.243.

The French monarchy understood the value and potential of funeral symbolism, and particularly effigy ritual symbolism, as a demonstration of power at a time of potential vulnerability, the death of the sovereign.

The Effigy Ritual in England: A Brief Survey

The effigy ritual was not, however, indigenous to France. Its first use in 1422 was in direct imitation of an English ritual practice probably originating in the fourteenth century.[16] In early medieval royal funerals the corpse itself was exhibited. Edward the Confessor (d. January 1065-6) and William the Conqueror (d. 1087) were both carried to their graves unembalmed and covered on a bier. The corpse of Henry I, who died in France in 1135, was rudely embalmed to facilitate its transport back to England but it was still borne covered upon a bier. The funeral of Henry II (1189) was the first in which the body was openly displayed arrayed in the coronation ornaments, with the face uncovered. There is evidence to suggest that Henry III was the first to be borne to his grave in a coffin with an image of wax outside but the first indisputable use of a royal effigy was at the funeral of Edward II (1327). While the reasons for its introduction are unclear, relating perhaps to the three-month delay in organising the funeral, the use of the effigy had a tradition-

[16]In the discussion that follows I am indebted to the work of W.H. St John Hope, 'On the funeral Effigies of Kings and Queens of England, with special reference to those in the Abbey church of Westminster', *Archaeologia*, 40, part 2 (1907), 517-570.

like effect. Subsequently, barring one or two exceptions, this became customary at all royal funerals (figure 43).[17]

Just two months before the death of Charles VI in 1422 the young Henry V of England had died at the chateau of the Bois de Vincennes. An effigy was displayed upon the coffin, perhaps from St. Denis and certainly from Rouen, in the convoy that transported his corpse back to England.[18]

Effigies were borne in the processions of all Tudor monarchs and of James I but it has generally been held that the effigy ritual in England never developed the elaborate symbolism of its French counterpart.[19] In the light of the Reformation with its marked iconoclasm, it is perhaps surprising that the effigy ritual survived at all. Survive it did, however, and in the early seventeenth century, as I shall argue, its role in the royal funeral expanded to a degree that would rival the French models.

[17]Hope,pp.527;541-2; Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957),p.420.

[18]An English account of Henry V's funeral journey appears in Stow,p.362.

[19]Giesey (1960),p.85; Kantorowicz,p.421.

43. 'The Burial of a King', from *De Exequiis regalibus* (1364?)[sic] reproduced in J. W. Legg, *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, II,pl.VIII.

THE 1587 FUNERALS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Introduction

The 1587 funeral of Mary Queen of Scots is highly illustrative of Queen Elizabeth and her government's shared awareness of the need for and value of funeral ritual. It also demonstrates the role funeral ritual played in European diplomacy.[1]

Mary Queen of Scots was executed on 8 February 1587. She had made her will ten years previously at Sheffield Manor. In this document, as was customary, Mary made certain requests regarding the disposal of her body. 'Je veulx et ordonne, que si je decedde en ceste prison, mon corps soit porté en France, et y conduict a mes despens, par tous les serviteurs et officiers de ma maison (francoys ou escosoys, qui en seront capables), estant pres de moy, lors de mon decez, pour estre inhumé, en l'Eglise Sainct-Denys, aupres du Corps du fue mon trescher et treshonoré seigneur et mary. le Roy de France, Françoys'.

She makes further requests about her funeral ceremony:

> Qu'aux funerailles qui se feront, en l'ad' ville, assistent tous mes serviteurs et officiers domestiques, qui s'y vouldront trouver revestuz en deuil, ch'n selon sa qualité; et oultre deux cens pauvres aussi vestuz de robbes de deuil, ch'n une torche allumée a la main. Les quattre mendians de Paris, les enfans de la Trinité, les bons hommes, Capussins, et aultres relligieux, ainsi que les executeurs de ces Testament adviseront, et verront bon estre. - Ausquels j'ordonne y faire celebrer le

[1] See Introduction, p.26.

> divin service, tant vigiles que messes, ainsi qu l'on a accoustumé de faire; et durant les jours de dictes ffunerailles, facent distribuer aux pauvres, la somme de mil livres'.[1]

Mary also requested the separate interment of her entrails and made provision for a dole to be distributed to the poor on the occasion. In a letter to the Duke of Guise, Mary further requested that he found an obit and 'do the necessary alms'.[2]

Mary was effectively requesting a full royal funeral in the Catholic French style, complete with mendicant friars, multiple masses and an interment at St. Denis, the French royal necropolis just to the north of Paris where her second husband, François II was buried.[3] Mary's motivation in requesting such a funeral may have been religious in part but her requests emphasize her links with the French Crown and may have been designed to encourage their support for her cause. Mary, it seems, recognized the power of funeral pageantry.

Mary appointed as executors of her will the Duke of Guise, James Beaton, the Bishop of Glasgow, John Lesley, the Bishop of Ross, and M. de Ruysseau, her Chancellor.[4] In the event,

[1] J. Nichols, ed., 'The History of [...] Fotheringay', in *Bibliotheca Topograohica Britannica*, ed. by J. Nichols and others, 10 vols (London: the author, 1740-1800),IV (1740),pp.vii,79-84.

[2] Nichols (1740),p.83; W. Liang and D. Liang, eds., *Collections Relative to the funerals of Mary Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1822),pp.viii-ix.

[3] See Appendix II for extracts from the funeral of Charles IX (d. 1574) as an example of a French royal funeral.

[4] James Beaton (1517-1603) was the last Roman Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow (1552-71). He went to France on the death of the Queen regent and continued to live in Paris, where he acted as Scottish ambassador at the French court, until his death in 1603, *DNB*.

these men had no role to play in the funeral ceremonies surrounding the interment of Mary's body. It was not the executors but Elizabeth and subsequently James who were responsible for the ceremonial events that marked the death of the Scottish Queen in England. Mary would receive not one but three funeral and memorial services in England over the next twenty-five years. Each, instead of catering for the wishes of the deceased, would reflect the particular political ends of its organisers and the cultural conditions of particular historical moments. In this chapter I deal with Mary's 1587 funerals. In the interests of chronological and thematic continuity, discussion of the rituals organized by James after his accession to the English throne is postponed until chapter 7.

The Political Implications of Mary's Execution: Domestic and Foreign

Mary's execution placed both Elizabeth and James in an ambiguous political position. A Latin epitaph pinned anonymously above the dead Queen's grave in Peterborough cathedral illustrated the point.

> Mary Queen of Scots, daughter of a King, widow of the King of France, Cousin and next heir of the Queen of England [...] by barbarous and tyrannical cruelty, the ornament of our age and truly Royal light, is extinguished. By the same unrighteous judgement, both Mary Queen of Scots, with natural death, and all surviving Kings, (now made common persons) are punished with civil death. A strange and unusual kind of monument this is wherein the living are included with the dead; for, with the sacred ashes of this blessed Mary, know the Majesty

> of all the Kings and princes, lieth here, violated and prostrate.[6]

The anonymous epitaph did not remain in place long. Its import was far too sensitive for it went to the heart of the difficulties experienced by Elizabeth. By condemning a fellow monarch to death Elizabeth made her own sovereignity vulnerable. This problem had lain behind much of Elizabeth's reluctance to have her cousin executed despite the personal danger involved in allowing her to live.[7]

James similarly had ideological difficulties with the death of a monarch. Her death contravened his own dearly held Law of Divine Right: 'What law of God can permit that justice shall strike upon them whom he has appointed supreme dispensators of the same under him, whom he hath called gods'.[8] James's situation was further complicated simply because the dead Queen was his mother. It is impossible to determine James's private attitude to the execution of his mother. As Maurice Lee puts it, James digested the news, 'with or without satisfaction, depending on whose account you believe'.[9] Since

[6]Liang,pp.51-2; Nichols, (1740),p.58. On the Latin poem by Adam Blackwood pinned on the door of Notre-Dame, Paris on 13 March, the day of Mary's official Requiem Mass. See M. Greengrass, 'Mary, Dowager Queen of France', in *Mary Stewart: Queen in Three Kingdoms*, ed. by Michael Lynch (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988),pp.174-94 (p.186).

[7]Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series (CSPF),XXI (1586-88) part I,189,203.

[8]Letter of 16 January 1587, see G. P. V. Akrigg, ed., *The Letters of James VI and I* (London: University of California Press, 1984),pp.81-3 (p.82).

[9]Maurice Lee, *Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in His Three Kingdoms* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990),p.33. See also, Akrigg (1984),p.86 and D. Harris Willson, *King James VI and I* (London: Cape, 1950),p.78.

James was separated from his mother at the age of ten, it is unlikely, however, that public and political considerations received much opposition from personal feelings of affection.

On a political level, Mary's death had advantages for James. It rendered James's status as King of Scotland entirely unequivocal. The legitimacy of her deposition had always been a painful issue.[10] Further, it removed her as a potential rival to the fulfillment of James's great ambition: the succession to the English throne. Ambiguity in James's correspondence with Archibald Douglas, his ambassador in London, suggests that while publicly James was seen to be doing all he could to save his mother, privately he was actively encouraging the English to precipitate her end.

Even in death, however, Mary could be a threat to James's hope of the English succession. A 1584 Act of Parliament, based on the Bond of Association for the proctection of the Queen Elizabeth's person, included a clause that would keep from the throne anyone who (even without their own knowledge) had been intended by the conspirators to be Elizabeth's successor. When Mary was convicted of plotting against Elizabeth's life, James worried that his enemies would use the clause to bar his own succession.[11] James thus had strong motives for urging his mother's innocence. Her perfidy would inevitably cast a shadow upon his own honour.

[10]Lee (1990),pp.32-3.

[11]Akrigg (1984),pp.77-8; Willson,p.139; Paul Johnson, *Elizabeth I: A Study in Power and Intellect* (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1974),pp.280-1.

The need to defend Mary's honour in order to safeguard James's succession claims coincided with the need to satisfy the unequivocal and barely concealed outrage of his people, some of whom were threatening war with England.[12] Yet James had to tread a fine line between a show of support for his mother and not antagonising the English. He did not want to jeopardize the succession by upsetting them.

Elizabeth and James worked in tandem to minimize the negative political repercussions of Mary's death. At first Elizabeth chose to emphasize the impossibility of taking any other course of action given the plots against her royal person in which Mary had been implicated.[13] This policy did not, however, quell popular unrest in Scotland. The Master of Gray advised that 'the Queen of England in effect should let the King see, by some honest proof, that the cruel accident fell out far contrary to her meaning'.[14] There followed a protracted charade in which Elizabeth pretended fury with her Council and took to her bed in an exaggerated display of grief. Her performance was, however, neither convincing nor sufficient and ultimately a scapegoat had to be found.[15] Elizabeth argued that she had given a warrant to her servant, Davison, in order to satisfy the demands of her subjects but had never intended to use it, and 'he was so rash as to have

[12]Calendar of State Papers, Scotland (CSPSc),I (1509-1603),542; Willson,p.74.

[13]Salisbury MSS,III,218.

[14]Salisbury MSS,III,225-6,230.

[15]CSPF,XXI (1586-8) part I,242,266,276; CSPV,VIII (1581-91),255.

overstepped his commission'.[16] Denials were useless. Davison was sent to the Tower and fined £10,000, a victim to state policy.[17]

Thus Elizabeth and James endeavoured to publicly demonstrate their innocence to audiences at home and abroad. Despite the ambiguity surrounding events, some feared the execution would provoke a strong reaction from her overseas supporters, particularly the French. The Spanish too, although they had never supported Mary, might nevertheless see her death as the removal of an impediment to Spanish invasion.[18] James had written to Henry III, Catherine de Medici and the Duke of Guise asking for aid in avenging his mother's death.[19] In April, Philip II took soundings of the Papal position in order to discover whether a joint attack with France, in support of James, on England were possible.[11] James, however, as I have argued, had no genuine interest in a war over his mother's death, his overtures were a show to appease his outraged Scottish nobles.

Walsingham, who had long supported the elimination of Mary,

[16]This excuse also met with a degree of scepticism. See CSPV,VIII (1581-91),255.

[17]The money was quietly given to James as a sweetener to make him accept the fact of his mother's death. He would always be vulnerable to accusations of venality. See CSPF,XXI (1586-8) part I,320; Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series (CSPD),II (1581-90),398; Salisbury,XIII,404.

[11]Charles Howard McIlwain, ed., *The Political Works of James I* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1918; repr. New York: Russell & Russell, 1965),p.xxviii.

[19]Willson,pp.79-80.

[18]CSPV,VIII (1581-91),264.

was confident that while Mary's overseas supporters might storm with words, they would not act, 'the papists being now out of hope to advance their religion by the taking of her away: because as well the King of Scotland as all others that pretend right of succession are protestants; and they have no reason nor I think any meaning to hazard themselves in the quarrel of the dead'.[11]

The Ceremonial Response to Mary's Death: France and Spain

In the long run, Walsingham was proved right: the overseas response to Mary's death was confined to the ceremonial arena. Support for the dead Catholic Queen was demonstrated through the secure channel of ritual rather than the risky channel of war.

Although all the French court was reported to deplore the execution, both because Mary was a Queen of France and because of its detrimental effect on the hopes of Catholics in England, condemnation was limited to the spheres of diplomatic protocol and ceremony. After the execution, Stafford could not even obtain an audience to explain that it had all happened 'without her Majesty's intent and meaning'.[11]

Although there is no evidence that Mary received the elaborate

[11]CSPF,XXI (1586-8),242; CSPV,VIII (1581-91),256.

[11]CSPF,XXI, (1586-8) part I,227; CSPV,VIII (1581-91),249-55. See also Greengrass,pp.184-8.

funeral in France that she had requested, there are reports of the French court marking her death with official ceremony. Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in France, reported on 7 March that the King, Queen and all the nobles at the French court had publicly appeared in mourning. The royal finances were, however, stretched by the civil war and the ladies in waiting were told to dress in ordinary black serge because the King could not afford to provide them with the customary mourning attire. Mendoza also reports that the French were to hold obsequies for the dead Queen at Notre Dame and that the King would be present. Later, he records that the funeral service was held at the French court. The Duke of Guise, one of Mary's executors, is identified as the motivating force behind the event.[13] Greengrass has noted the central role of the Guise and argues that Mary's execution provided him with an opportunity to orchestrate a demonstration of overt Catholic solidarity that was separate from and, by implication, critical of the King.[14] All the foreign ambassadors were invited to attend in mourning, reports of the funeral were intended to circulate.[15]

Also in March 1587 a memorial service was held in Rheims. This, too, was attended by the Duke of Guise. The Bishop of Glasgow, James Beaton, another of the executors, was also

[13]Calendar of State Papers, Spain: Relating to English Affairs (CSPS),IV (1587-1603),34.

[14]Greengrass goes on to argue that Mary became an image for revolution in France, an image which played a key part in the propaganda that led to Henry III's exclusion from Paris fourteen months after her death,p.185.

[15]CSPV,VIII (1581-91),255-6; Samuel Jebb, *The History of the Life and Reign of Mary Queen of Scots* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1725),p.354.

present at Rheims. Apparently the hope of being created the Cardinal of Scotland was uppermost in his mind, rather than any reverence for the deceased.[16]

In April the Venetian ambassador in Spain reported that Philip II had been in some doubt as to whether he should order funeral services for the Scottish Queen. There was no genuine sorrow at her death. Her status had been equivocal in Spain and her death a fortunate release from all pressure for supporting her claims to the English throne.[17] Indeed, Philip could now assert his own claims, if not for himself then for his daughter.[18] Safely dead, Mary could now be ceremonially commemorated but only if she qualified as a Catholic matyr. The Spanish celebration of obsequies for Mary was seen primarily in a religious context. Once the Pope had privately pronounced her a matyr, Philip went into mourning and a funeral was held which he attended in person.[19]

In Scotland too, James stifled revenge with the black cloth of mourning. The Scottish court was in full mourning for Mary Queen of Scots for a whole year. Bothwell refused to put on mourning until he had taken revenge but the King reproved him.

[16]CSPF,XXI (1586-8) part I,535. The Guise also celebrated the funeral in Lorraine. See CSPF,XXI (1586-8) part IV,345.

[17]Willson,p.80.

[18]John Lynch, *Spain 1516-1598: From Nation State to World Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991),pp.380-1,447-8. Philip's claims were improved, at least in papal eyes, because of the protestantism of Mary's son, James VI.

[19]Mary's obsequies were also celebrated by the Pope, CSPV,VIII (1581-91),268; CSPS,IV (1587-1603),54-7,200. See also Greengrass,pp.186-7 on Mary's image as a Catholic matyr in France.

For James the show of mourning was sufficient.[10]

There is some evidence that the Scots contemplated requesting custody of Mary's body in anticipation of a Scottish funeral. Robert Melvill refused a request to find out whether or not it was James's desire to have 'the defunct soul transported in this country [Scotland]' saying, 'I cannot take it upon me to meddle therein, knowing how heavy and displeasant it shall be to move the same unto his Majesty'. There is no evidence that James personally wished to have a Scottish funeral for his mother. In June, however, he did inquire as to whether his mother's body had been buried or not.[11]

[10]Mary's third husband had been the 4th Earl of Bothwell (d.1578). CSPSc,I (1509-1603),543,545; Willson,pp.74,79.

[11]CSPSc,I (1509-1603),344; Salisbury,XIII,261.

THE PETERBOROUGH FUNERAL: 8 JULY 1587[32]

The problem of what to do with the dead Queen's body was left then to Elizabeth and her advisors. An undated letter from M. De L'Aubespine, the French ambassador, to Queen ELizabeth details the execution and states the body was immediately wrapped in black cloth, carried to the late Queen's chamber, and there opened and embalmed.[33] Similarly, according to a letter from Sir Amias Paulet to Sir Francis Walsingham, dated Fotheringay Castle, 25 July 1586 [sic], the body was embalmed and enclosed in lead under the direction of a physician from Stamford, on Walsingham's orders. Then, under the care of Andrews the Sheriff, it remained in the castle awaiting funeral arrangements.[34]

[32]The account of the funeral is reconstructed mainly from the following sources: (i) *The Scottish Queens Buriall at Peterborough, upon Tuesday beeing Lammas Day 1587* (London, 1589) printed for Edward Venge and reproduced in Edward Arber, *An English Garner* (London: Constable, 1897),VIII,341-50; Laing,pp.1-8; and Nichols, (1740),pp.60-2 (referred to as Venge); (ii) *The Order for the Buriall for Marie Queen of Scotts att Peterborough Observed the First of August on Tuesdaye 1587*, based on the accounts in Bod., Ashmole MS 836 fol.273 and BL, Harley MS 1354 fol.46 drawn up by William Dethick, Garter King at Arms, reproduced in Laing,pp.9-16 (referred to as Dethick); (iii) BL, Harley MS 1440, also drawn up by Dethick and reproduced in Laing,pp.37-41; (iv) Gunton, *A History of the Cathedral Church of Peterborough* (London, 1686),p.77, supposedly based on an account by Dr. Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough Cathedral at the time of the funeral, and reproduced in Laing,pp.45-52 and Nichols (1740),pp.50-6.; (v) Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fols 315-7. An account of the funeral is also given in CSPD (1581-90). The sheer amount of evidence that survives relating to the funeral of Mary Queen of Scots, in comparison with that of Elizabeth, is indicative of its notoriety.

[33]CSPV,VIII (1581-91),256.

[34]Laing,p.x. According to one legend the Queen's head was buried separately. Two of the late Queen's Ladies of the Bed-Chamber, Barbara Mowbray and Elizabeth Curle, were permitted to retire abroad following the execution of their mistress, taking with them the head which they had interred near a pillar opposite the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in the Church

Walsingham's account of the deliberations surrounding the execution and burial of Mary Queen of Scots implies that early plans involved a hasty private disposal of the corpse at Fotheringay. He notes, 'The body [is] to be buried in the night in the parish church in such *uppermost* place as by the two Earls [Kent and Shrewsbury] shall be thought fit'.[11] In the end, however, although Mary's interment would take place at night, she was to be given a public funeral at the expense of the state.

It is not clear when the decision to stage a state funeral for Mary Queen of Scots was taken by Elizabeth and her advisors. I have discovered no evidence of deliberations taken over the funeral arrangements. Delays of a month or so between death and burial, to allow the College of Arms to make the necessary preparations, were usual amongst the aristocracy. The seven-month delay in the case of Mary may have been due to disagreements over the plans or, and this is perhaps more likely, may have been a deliberate strategy to allow time for memories of her execution to fade.

In this context it is worth recalling that on 16 February 1587, just eight days after Mary's execution, a magnificent funeral was held in London: that of Sir Philip Sidney (figure

of St. Andrew in Antwerp. The tale has, however, no foundation in fact, see ibid,pp.76-8.

[11]Salisbury MSS,III,216-8. The italics indicate that Burghley interlined the word 'uppermost' in his own hand and refer to the location of the church interment.

44).[36] According to the description included in Lant's pictorial record of the occasion, the London funeral attracted crowds of onlookers.[37] It is intriguing that Sidney's chief mourner (Robert Sidney) had six assistants, the number prescribed for barons, rather than the four allowed for knights.[38] The presence of the Earls of Leicester, Huntingdon and Essex, and Lords Willoughby and North enhanced the magnificence of the occasion but simultaneously contravened the principle 'that no man of greater title than the defunct should be permitted to mourne' at heraldic funerals.[39] Such discrepancies between normal procedure and the practice on this occasion seem to signal that the funeral was being deliberately manipulated to transform it into a national affair.[40]

The series of engravings produced by Thomas Lant (c.1554-1600), a member of Sidney's household who was taken on by Walsingham after Sidney's death, further inflated the occasion, since they followed a tradition developed in the

[36]For the funeral see Bod., Ashmole MS 818 fol.40; John Nichols, ed., *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols (London: the author, 1823),II,483-494.

[37]Lant,p.30. On Lant's series of engravings, see Sander Bos, Marianne Lange-Meyers and Jeanine Six, 'Sidney's Funeral Portrayed', in *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1986),pp.37-67.

[38]Also the Great Banner was carried although it was usually reserved for use at the funerals of peers and their ladies. See chapter 1,pp.38,41. Robert Sidney (1563-1626) was Philip's brother and his heir.

[39]Segar (1602),p.251 cited by Strickland,p.31. Strickland explores the ways in which the aristocratic propaganda of the funeral was undermined by Sidney's ambiguous social status,p.25. The Lord Mayor of London was also in the procession, see figure 45.

[40]Bos,p.51.

44. The coffin in the procession of the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney, from Johann Theodor de Bry's engraved illustrations after Thomas Lant's *Funeral of Philip Sidney* (1587).

45. Lord Mayor of London and his sword-bearer with a fur hat and mourning sword at Sir Philip Sidney's funeral, from Johann Theodor de Bry's engraved illustrations after Thomas Lant's *Funeral of Philip Sidney* (1587).

Habsburg Dutch provinces to commemorate imperial deaths.[41] They represent the first systematic pictorial account of an English heraldic funeral and were intended for publication.

It has been suggested that Protestant propaganda was a motive behind the staging of such a grand funeral for Sir Philip Sidney.[42] Strickland has identified Protestant partisanship in Lant's book and in a broadside funeral elegy by John Phillip. Bos, Lange-Meyer and Six note that the funeral occurred at a time when Elizabeth was involved in negotiations with Dutch delegates over the future of English support for the Dutch cause. The magnificent funeral of Sidney, who had died as a result of wounds inflicted at the battle of Zutphen, would naturally draw attention to the Dutch campaign. Yet at least a part of the motivation behind this Protestant propaganda strategy may have been to distract attention away from the death of the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots and subvert or contain any propensity towards making her funeral a focus for rebellion.[43] This connection might go some way towards explaining the delay in staging the Sidney funeral. Although Sidney had died overseas his body was quickly transported back

[41]Perhaps the most famous example is the series which depicts the funeral ceremonies held for Charles V in Brussels (1558). See Bos,pp.46-7 and figures 46 and 47.

[42]Strickland,p.29; Bos,p.51.

[43]Bos, Lange-Meyer and Six note that the atmosphere at court was very tense after the death of Mary Queen of Scots. Walsingham absented himself for a period and may also have deliberately not attended Sidney's funeral in person,pp.39,51. James VI also demonstrated an interest in the death and funerals of Sidney, composing a sonnet on the occasion which was included in Cambridge's *Cantabrigiensis Lachrymae*. See Jan Van Dorsten, Dominic Baker-Smith and Arthur F. Kinney eds., *Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1986),pp.92-3 and Appendix I.

46. King Philip II as chief mourner in the funeral procession of Emperor Charles V (1559).

47. Robert Sidney as chief mourner in the funeral procession of Sir Philip Sidney, from Johann Theodor de Bry's engraved illustrations after Thomas Lant's *Funeral of Philip Sidney* (1587).

to England and arrived in London on 5 November 1586.

The extended delay in staging Sidney's funeral has also been explained with reference to the difficulties that Sir Francis Walsingham, Sidney's father-in-law, experienced raising money to pay for an appropriately elaborate funeral. Walsingham's involvement once again suggests, however, that Sidney's funeral had become a highly political event. It was unusual for the costs of a funeral not to be borne by the deceased's estate but the family fortune had been used up in paying for the funeral of his father, Sir Henry Sidney, the year before.[14] Elizabeth herself had paid for the obsequies of some of her royal relatives to ensure a fitting level of pageantry.[15] It, however, would have been highly inappropriate for Elizabeth to foot the bill for Sidney's funeral because, although he was a hero, he was not of noble blood. She may, nonetheless, have pressurized Walsingham into paying.[16]

Returning to Mary Stuart's funeral, it is also possible that originally there were no plans to stage an elaborate funeral for her. The reader may recall, however, that it was common practice for the funerals of foreign monarchs to be celebrated in London.[17] In addition to the natural propensity of traditions to exert a drive towards conformity, pressure for

[14]Lawrence Stone, 'The Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy', *The Economic History Review* 28 (1948),12-3.

[15]See chapters 2,pp.91-2 and 7,p.237.

[16]Strickland,pp.19,27-8,34 n.1. See also Bos,pp.49-50.

[17]See Introduction,p.26.

Elizabeth to hold an English funeral may have come from abroad. Pope Sixtus V, for example, wrote a poem on the death of Mary Queen of Scots in which he deplored the fact that she had not been given a funeral.[11] Although no foreign ambassadors would be invited to attend, reports of the ceremony would go overseas.[11]

For whatever reasons Elizabeth and her government accepted that a funeral was unavoidable but took care that the occasion matched its own political purposes. When the funeral finally occurred on 1 August 1587, it was staged at Peterborough, far away from London, the symbolic centre of the English monarchy, thereby minimizing public attention at home at the same time as ensuring that reports of the funeral would go abroad.

Precedent may have helped determine the Peterborough location. It was decided that Mary should be interred on the right side of the Choir near to the grave of Queen Catherine of Aragon (d.1536). There was a distinct irony in this. Catherine had also died as a Queen out of favour or, to take the opposite point of view, 'no less a martyr in her life than the queen of Scotland in her death'.[11]

Peterborough was no doubt mainly chosen for its proximity to Fotheringay castle, a distance of only eleven miles. There would be no extended funeral journey to display Mary's body to the populace. A chariot adorned with escutcheons of her arms

[11]Nichols (1740),p.57.

[11]CSPS,IV (1587-1603),135.

[11]Arber,p.342; Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fol.315; CSPS,IV,158.

bore the body of Mary by torchlight during the night of Sunday 30 July from Fotheringay to Peterborough. Pre-Reformation funerals, as we have seen, abounded in torches but they had come to have associations with popery that would have been unwelcome in the context of Mary's funeral journey, especially, perhaps, given the strong Catholic presence in the diocese of Peterborough.[51] The advantages of accomplishing the task under cover of darkness were thus compromised by the necessity for using torches.[52]

While the location was deliberately remote, Elizabeth sent her officers and heralds to make sure that Mary's funeral was of royal stature. Officers of Elizabeth's household were despatched to Peterborough in advance of the heralds to make the necessary preparations.[53]

The funeral chariot was escorted from Fotheringay by William Dethick, Garter King at Arms, together with other heralds. It arrived at the cathedral door at 2.00am where it was met by Bishop Howland of Peterborough, the Dean, the Master of the Wardrobe, and Melvin, Master of the late Queen's household.[54] The coffin, with a Scottish escort, was immediately taken into the church and interred by torch-light. The open vault was

[51]Sheils (1979),pp.20,34,105,112-8. The strong Catholic presence in east Northamptonshire does not, however, invalidate the argument that Mary's funeral was easier to control at the Peterborough location.

[52]Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fol.315. This is the only funeral account I have come across during the reign of Elizabeth in which torches are mentioned.

[53]Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fol.315.

[54]Nichols (1740),p.54. 'Melvin' or 'Melville' - the spelling is not at this time fixed.

then filled in leaving only a small aperture into which the staves could be broken during the ceremony on the following day.[11]

In Gunton, the reason given for the hasty disposal of the body was its exteme heaviness resulting from the weight of the lead, 'the Gentlemen could not have endured to have carried it, with leisure, in the solemn proceeding: and besides, (it) was feared that the solder might rip; and (it) being very hot weather, might be found some annoyance'.[11] This may have been the case; embalming techniques were far from fail safe and it is possible there was a genuine threat of noxious odours.[11] Whether true or not, the excuse would deflect any accusations of indignity should rumours of the hasty burial circulate. It is unlikely, however, that such charges would be made since, as we have seen, the interment was not regarded as an integral part of the public funeral proceedings.[11] Nevertheless, one account writer takes pains to deflect any criticism resulting from the lack of religious accompaniment to the nocturnal interment. He emphasizes that the Bishop had been 'redie to have executed theron, but it was by all that weare present as well Scottish as others thought good and agreed that it should be done all the daye and tyme of solemnitye, uppon Monday in the afternoon'.[11] The state funeral ceremony was staged the day after the interrment, using an empty coffin since the body

[11]Laing,p.2.

[11]It weighed 900 lbs. See Laing,p.47.

[11]Gittings,p.167.

[11]See chapter 1,pp.62-4.

[11]Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fol.316; Arber,p.343.

was already in its vault.[60]

The Funeral Procession

At eight o'clock in the morning the chief mourner, Bridget Russel, Countess of Bedford, was brought into the Presence Chamber of the Bishop's Palace which had been hung with black drapes. The Countess was positioned beneath a cloth of estate of purple velvet and proceeded to give the staves of office to the Treasurer, the Chamberlain, Comptroller and the Steward. This accomplished, she went into the great hall where the coffin stood. The heralds then marshalled the mourners and the procession began.[61]

According to the Dethick accounts, the procession followed the usual order of an heraldic funeral commencing with two conductors bearing black staves.[62] Dethick, who was Garter King at Arms, took part in the funeral procession himself, of course, marching directly in front of the chief mourner, the Countess of Bedford. He would also have played a key role in the organization of the occasion.

The total number of participants was three hundred, a small

[60]Laing,p.28. See chapter 10,pp.308-9.

[61]Laing,pp.34-5; Arber,p.344. For other examples of the heralds marshalling mourners, see Ingram, Appendix VIII,p.510; Guillim,p.251; Gittings,p.173.

[62]Laing,pp.9-16, an account which seems to be extracted from BL, Harley MS 1354 which was apparently drawn up by William Dethick.

number in comparison with other elite funerals of the period - there had been seven hundred at Sidney's funeral.[11] Many of the nobles and gentry in attendance were not there because of any personal link with the dead Queen but by royal command. They included Lady Talbot, Lady Mary Savill, daughter of George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, and her husband, Sir George Savill, who bore the standard in the procession, Lady Cecil and her husband Thomas Cecil, eldest son of Lord Burleigh, and James Harington. Letters had been sent out in early July to those selected by the Privy Council to attend the funeral. Presumably this was to ensure that there would be an appropriate level of display at the funeral and that a demonstration of political consensus would occur.[12] Quite evidently Mary's funeral was an occasion concerned with public display rather than private grief.

The total cost of the proceedings seems to have been a mere £531 24*s*. 6*d*.[13] This was a very cheap elite funeral by the standards of the period. Edward, 3rd Earl of Rutland was buried in the same year at a cost of £2,297, while even the more modest funeral of Henry Sidney in 1586 had cost £1,571. The allowances for blacks appear to have been on the whole somewhat less than the usual amounts, although the statistics I am using for comparison refer to the allowances for male

[11] Lant, p.30.

[12] Acts of the Privy Council (1587-1588), p.152; CSPV, VIII (1581-91), 256. Similarly, nobles and gentry in the locality had been commanded to attend the execution. Many of the mourners had also been at Mary's trial or, in the case of the ladies, were related to men that had been there, Nichols (1740), pp.54-6. See Introduction, pp.12,14.

[13] Laing, p.56.

mourners.[10] More significant perhaps is the fact that the number of attendants allocated to each aristocrat was consistently less. An Earl, for example, normally had twelve attendants but was to have only eight at Mary's funeral.

Yet the achievements borne at the funeral represented the full set appropriate to a queen: a helm and crest, a target and a coat of arms. The helm and crest was borne by William Segar, then Portcullis Pursuivant; the target by Rouge Dragon; the sword by York and the coat of arms by Somerset (figure 48).[11] Clarenceux followed with a Gentleman at Arms and then came the coffin, a crown of gold resting on its velvet canopy.[12]

The bannerolls proudly proclaimed Mary's multiple royal connections. Five of the eight bannerolls borne in the procession represented the arms of kings of Scotland, including the arms of James IV, impaled with those of Henry VII of England, and James V impaled with the arms of Guise. There were also the arms of Mary's husband s, François II and Lord Darnley, both impaled with Mary's own arms.[13]

Thus, although the funeral was relatively inexpensive and the mourners coerced into attendance, the trappings appropriate to the funeral of a queen all appeared in the procession. The

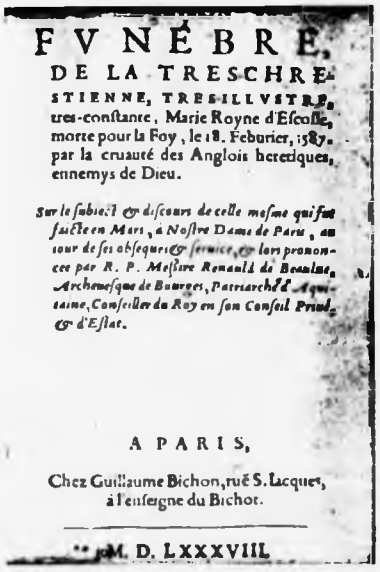
[10] Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fol.188; BL, Harley MS 1354 fol.45 in Laing,p.43; chapter 1,pp.36-7.

[11] Laing,p.63. The Elizabethan ordinance mentioned in chapter 1,pp.39-40, might post-date this funeral. Gittings incorrectly states that gauntlets, spurs, a horse and battleaxe also appeared at Mary's funeral,p.222.

[12] Nichols (1740),p.61.

[13] Laing,p.65.

48. The coat of arms, helmet and crest of Mary Queen of Scots which remained hanging in Peterborough Cathedral until 1643, from W. Laing and D. Laing, *Collections relative to the funerals of Mary Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh: [n.pub.], 1822), p.52.



FVNÉBRE,
DE LA TRESCHRE-
STIENNE, TRES-ILLVSTRE,
tres-conſtante, Marie Royne d'Eſcoſſe,
morte pour la Foy, le 18. Feburier, 1587.
par la cruauté des Anglois heretiques,
ennemys de Dieu.

Sur le ſubiect & diſcours de celle meſme qui fut faicte en Mars, à Noſtre Dame de Paris, au tour de ſes obſeques & ſeruice, & lors prononcee par R. P. Meſſire Renauld de Beaulne, Archeueſque de Bourges, Patriarche d'Aquitaine, Conſeiller du Roy en ſon Conſeil Priué, & d'Eſtat.

A PARIS,
Chez Guillaume Bichon, ruë S. Iacques,
à l'enſeigne du Bichot.

M. D. LXXXVIII.

VERA, E COMPITA
RELATIONE
Del ſucceſſo della Morte della Chriſtia-
niſsima Regina di Scotia.

Con la dichiaratione delle Eſequie fatte in Parigi dal Christianiſs. Re ſuo Cognato, & il nome de Perſonaggi intervenuti.

Con licenza de Superiori.

In Milano, Per Giacomo Picaglia.

49. Title page of an Italian account of Mary's death (1587), held at the National Library of Scotland.

display itself and reports of the funeral, both verbal and printed, would underline Elizabeth's respect for Mary's royal status, demonstrating to both domestic and European audiences her innocence in respect of her cousin's death.[70]

By exercising control over who should take part in the funeral proceedings, the Privy Council made the occasion less vulnerable to appropriation by its enemies. They could not, however, exert authority over the members of Mary's household who took part in the funeral. The one element of dissent reported in the funeral procession came from this source. Mary's French Jesuit priest, Du Preau, was deliberately provocative, wearing a gold crucifix about his neck although he was told the 'people disliked it'.[71]

The Church Service

The trappings of the church service, as in the procession, were appropriate to the dead Queen's status. The whole of the choir and the body of the church were hung with black baise and escutcheons of the Queen's arms as was customary at elite funerals. In the nave two breadths of black cloth were hung between five and seven yards from the ground.[72] Similarly, a hearse with pillars supporting a valance was set up in the body of the church, above the first step of the choir.

[70]Sandford,p.505.

[71]Arber,p.345.

[72]Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fol.315; BL, Harley MS 1440 fol.13.

Escutcheons of the arms of Scotland, bearing the motto 'In my defence God me defend', were attached to the pillars and one hundred penons adorned the canopy. It was of a size and design suitable to Mary's rank.[73]

The prebends and the choir met the procession at the church door, greeting them with songs and anthems. The choir led the mourners towards the chancel. As the procession entered the church, the poor women divided themselves, taking up positions on either side where they stood throughout the ceremony. Two knights with banners stood at the east end of the hearse outside the pale; eight squires with bannerolls, four on each side, similarly stood outside the pale. The remainder of the mourners were escorted to the hearse by a herald and positioned on either side, the women nearest the altar.[74]

The service itself, although more secluded from the public eye than the procession, was potentially a source of conflict because of the clash of religious allegiances amongst the mourners. It was, of course, a Protestant service. Psalm-singing and organ music were included but, as we have seen, neither had been outlawed by the Reformation and indeed psalm-singing became a significant Protestant practice.[75] The Bishop of Lincoln preached on the thiry-ninth psalm, 'Lord let me know myne order; and the number of my days, that I may be satisfied howe long I have to live' and included citation of

[73]BL, Harley MS 1440 fol.13; Laing,pp.2,47,59; Arber,pp.343,347.

[74]Arber,p.345.

[75]Chapter 2,p.95.

a saying of Luther that 'Many (a) one liveth a Papist; and dieth a Protestant'. There was no attempt to assert that there had been a death-bed conversion but Mary's Protestant salvation was not precluded."

All the Scottish except Melvin absented themselves from the sermon. According to some accounts they refused to witness any of the ceremony as well." One account states that when they were finally prevailed upon to return from the cloisters to perform the stave-breaking ceremony, they found that the ritual had already been enacted." It was no doubt in anticipation of this kind of divisive behaviour that the funeral was deliberately staged away from great public scrutiny.

There was no royal succession to be enacted at this funeral ceremony and in the absence of burial cries, the offering ritual, with its commemoration of the dead Queen, formed the ritual centre of the proceedings. It is perhaps significant, then, that in the English published account of the proceedings (London: Venge, 1589) all the mourners, including the Scottish and French, witness the offering ceremony, giving an impression of unity and order."

After the offering, the mourners departed. In the Arber

"Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fol.316; Arber,p.348.

"Laing,p.4; Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fol.316.

"Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain* ([London (?)]: [n. pub.], 1786),p.165 cited by Laing,p.78.

"Laing,p.4.

account, the writer remarks that as the Scottish ladies approached the chancel door, they parted on both sides and as the English ladies passed they kissed them all. The account thus emphasizes unity between Scots and English mourners. Finally the Dean supervised the closing burial ritual. He read the words of the burial service and then the staves were broken and cast into the vault. The company headed for the Bishop's palace for the funeral dinner and the 'concourse was of many thousands'. After the feast, the company dispersed.[11]

The Dethick and Venge accounts make no mention of an effigy of Mary. It is the 'body' that was borne by the six gentlemen in cloaks with a canopy carried behind by four knights.[11] To have given Mary an effigy would have been tantamount to acknowledging her claim to the English throne. The only piece of evidence that could be associated with the construction of an effigy involves a death mask at Lennox-love belonging to the Hamilton family which has always been referred to as the death mask of Mary Queen of Scots.[11] The attribution is, however, suspect. William Maitland (1525-73) spent time at Lennox-love, then known as Lethington, when he was Secretary of State to Mary following her return from France in 1561. The mask came to be associated with him, hence the retrospective connection with Mary Queen of Scots.[11]

[11]Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fol.319; Arber,p.349; Nichols (1740),p.62.

[11]Laing,p.13.

[11]Death-masks were usually used in effigy construction, see chapter 5,pp.145,149,178-9.

[11]The identification is suggested in letters to Howgrave-Graham from Mrs B. Johnston, Holyrood House, 14 October 1955; and E. M. McGory, at the Headquarters of the Scottish Ministry

Alternative Versions of the Peterborough Funeral

A series of alternative versions of the funeral of Mary Queen of Scots were produced which differ from the account above compiled from Dethick and Venge."

The earliest was written in French and entitled *Les Magnifiques Obsegues de la Royne d'Ecosse. 8" Aoust 1587.* There are two editions of this tract, one printed by Jean Naffield in Edinburgh, 1589 but the other, by the same printer, dated 1587. Thus it predates the English account published by Venge in 1589. Was this tract published with a Scottish and/or French Catholic public in mind? The writer was certainly used to Catholic funerals and notes the distinctively Protestant elements of the ceremony: the fact that the Dean and 'Chanoines' who received the corpse at the door of the cathedral were dressed in surplices; the absence of candles on the hearse, 'au milieu du Choeur, estoit elevé un dome, à la façon de nos chapelles ardentes, sans cierges'; the Protestant style of the funeral service 'en lange Anglois'."

The writer also mentions that the late Queen's household departed before the service, 'ne voulans assister à leurs prieres'. Interestingly in this account they do not return for the offering, 'Les Herauts à quelque temps de là, & apres

of Works, 8 November 1955. Both are held at the Westminster-Abbey Library, Box: Royal Funeral Effigies.

"For an Italian version, see figure 49.

"Laing, pp.27,30.

le Sermon (...) les fut inviter dans le cloistre où ils estoient de venir à l'offrande, cequils refuserent de faire, disans, qu'ils n'offroient point à un autel qu'ils n'approuvoient pas'. They only return for the breaking of the staves that concluded the ceremony. A Catholic would want to emphasize that the Catholic mourners took no part in the Protestant church ceremony. The French version follows Ashmole 857 but differs from Venge's published English account. Was either or both of these account writers twisting events to suit his readership?

The French account differs from Venge in several other respects. The Scottish mourners are segregated for the funeral feast at the Bishop's palace. They eat in a chamber apart where they 'meslerent force larmes avec leur boire et leur manger' suggesting, perhaps, a refusal to play a part in the English propaganda exercise."

A second difference seems to aim at increasing the level of magnificence. Interestingly, on arrival at the castle to receive the encoffined body, Garter goes up to 'la chambre où estoit le corps, lequel il fist mettre dans le chariot, avec un grand respect et un profond silence'." Is this account trying to suggest that Mary's body had been lying-in-state in a manner appropriate to a royal funeral during the long delay before her funeral?

The most striking discrepancy however, is that the 'body' of

"Laing,p.30.

"Laing,p.27.

the Dethick account becomes 'la représentation' in the French account. This could translate as 'effigy'. Could the writer have been radically rewriting the proceedings to include an effigy, a key element, as we have seen, of royal funeral processions in both England and France?

The account writer displays internal consistency and the 'représentation' appears again in the funeral service description: 'Sous ce dome fut mise la représentation de sa Maiesté, sut une biere couverte de velours noir, & sur un oreiller de velours cramoisi estoit posee une Couronne'.[11] Here, however, use of the term seems confusing. If there is an effigy, why is the crown not upon its head? And where is the cushion upon which the crown lies? On the effigy? Next to it?

The term 'représentation' did not however have a single meaning in sixteenth century French.[11] While it certainly could mean, 'une figure moulée et peinte qui, dans les obsèques représentent le défunct',it could also simply refer to a simulated coffin covered with a pall and bearing a coat of arms or a crown.[11] Often the term 'représentation' did refer to an effigy but not necessarily; its meaning was fluid. In the case of Mary Queen of Scots, the Venge account states

[11]Laing,p.30.

[11]Émile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Française*, 7 vols ([Paris (?)]: Gallimard, 1964),VI (1964).

[11]Giesey (1960) gives several examples of the latter use of the term 'représentation' including a memorial service performed by Louis XI at Avesnes in 1461 when he heard of Charles VII's death. The hearse contained a 'représentation' upon which rested a very rich drapery of cloth of gold. Evidently here an effigy was not used,pp.85-91.

that a golden crown rested upon the coffin.[11] We also know that the coffin was empty, the body having been buried the evening before, suggesting another reason why the term 'représentation' was used. We should conclude, then, that, in all probability, Mary's 'représentation' was a crown resting on a pall on top of the coffin.

The double meaning of 'représentation' while saving the account writer from the charge of deliberate fabrication nevertheless permits a fluidity of meaning and interpretation on the part of the account reader. While an effigy might not have been meant it might have been understood.

A second French account, included in a tract entitled *La Mort de la Royne d'Ecosse, Dovariere de France* which was published in France in 1589, takes the form of a description of the funeral convoy. This version also uses the term 'représenation'. Further, since any description of the church service is omitted in the Paris version of the funeral, there is no mention of the 'représentation' with its crown lying in the hearse to clarify the way the term was being used. With this clue to the non-effigy meaning of the term absent, the presence of the 'représentation' in the convoy remains unspecific but suggestive.

The French versions of the funeral, with their allusions to lying-in-state and to the use of an effigy, may be trying to make the occasion more royal than it actually was, perhaps as a propaganda exercise to satisfy those who felt Mary Queen of

[11] Laing, p.4.

Scots deserved a full state funeral. At the same time the record of the absence of the Scottish mourners from the offering ceremony could have been directed at the Catholic reader who would be shocked if they had attended a Protestant service. Are we dealing with a deliberately ameliorated account of the funeral for a Catholic public?[11]

Interesting in this connection is a black and white Indian ink drawing of the funeral procession of Mary Queen of Scots held at the British Library.[13] It depicts the funeral chariot complete with a crowned effigy of the dead queen wearing robes of state (figure 50). A fringed canopy is borne above the effigy but its hands are empty: the sceptre and orb usually borne by royal funeral effigies are absent. The drawings, bound with various other depictions of royal and noble funerals, have been dated as products of the early seventeenth century, suggesting that they were drawn retrospectively. Was this representation based on the ambiguous descriptions in the French accounts of the funeral or was it part of a process of deliberately rewriting and ameliorating the funeral of Mary Queen of Scots as the reign of her son drew near?[14]

William Dethick, now Garter herald and writing in 1599,

[11]For evidence of Catholics dwelling at length on the virtues of Catholic burials and unfavourable comments on Protestant obsequies, see D. Person, *Varieties: A Surveigh of rare and excellent matters* (London: T. Alchorn, 1635),p.164; Gittings,p.51.

[13]BL, Additional MS 35324 fols 14-7.

[14]There remains the possibility that it was guess-work on the part of an artist not present on the occasion. However, since such drawings were almost exclusively produced by heralds familiar with funeral ritual regulations, accidental inclusion of an effigy seems unlikely.

50. Effigy of Mary Queen of Scots (1587), from BL, Additional MS 35324 fol.16.

revises the costing of what had in fact been a relatively cheap funeral, to bring it in line with the expected expenditure at a royal funeral. The £531 24*s*. 6*d*. actually spent becomes greatly inflated, 'The Countesses of Rutland and Bedford representing the royall estate with the assembly of noblemen, countesses, baronesses, and ladies attending expressly, from and by her majesty's pleasure, and at her highness's expenses to the amount of 4000 librar. in the provision of all which, and the ceremonies pertaining to the same, on account of my office, I myself had principall direction'. This was a considerable sum, exceeding the £3,500 spent on the funeral of Robert, Earl of Leicester (1588), one of the most expensive contemporary heraldic funerals."[11] Was Dethick, too, revising matters in the light of the imminent accession of James VI to the English throne?

James was to emulate his predecessor in paying close attention to funeral ritual, recognising its social value and propaganda potential. Before looking at the post-accession rituals that he staged for his natural mother, it is useful to look at James's first experience of English royal funeral ritual: the funeral of Elizabeth I.

[11]Tate,I,204; Gittings,p.180.

THE ROYAL FUNERAL OF ELIZABETH I (1603)

This chapter builds on the general analysis of heraldic funerals undertaken in chapters 1 and 2. Discussion focuses on the use of the funeral effigy, a feature that was unique to royal funerals in Elizabethan England. There is no extant account of the church services at Elizabeth's funeral, including the offering ritual. Analysis is, therefore, necessarily confined to the funeral procession and lying-in-state ritual.

ELIZABETH'S FUNERAL AND THE JACOBEAN SUCCESSION

The Effigy and the Funeral Procession

Queen Elizabeth's funeral procession, held on 28 April, was recorded in two series of drawings showing the mourners walking towards Westminster Abbey.[1] The focal point of the funeral procession, as the drawings show, was not the physical remains but a life-like effigy of the dead Queen (figure 51). Henry Chettle describes it as 'The lively Picture of her Highnesse whole body, crowned in her Parliament Robes, lying on the corpse balmed and leaded, covered with velvet, borne on a chariot, drawn by four horses, trapt in Black Velvet'. Six bannerolls were carried on each side of the chariot by barons.

[1]Two sets of drawings are extant: (i) BL, Additional MS 5408 - black and white depiction on a roll by William Camden; (ii) BL, Additional MS 35324 fols 26-39 - colour drawings in Indian ink, anonymous. These are the first pictorial records of the funeral procession of an English sovereign. See Fritz,p.64.

51. The chariot and funeral effigy of Queen Elizabeth I (c. 1603), from *Vetusta Monumenta*,III,pl.XXIII, after BL, Additional MS 35324 fol.38.

Three Earl's assistants followed them on each side. Then came two groups of gentlemen pensioners, their axes pointing downwards, and following them a group of footmen. Four noblemen bore a canopy over the chariot. The Earl of Worcester followed leading the 'Palfrie of Honour'.[1]

The pre-eminence of the effigy relative to the corpse is underlined by the way each was dressed. Before the use of effigies, kings were all buried in royal apparel.[2] Edward II, however, was buried in the linen coif, sleeveless shirt, tunic and gloves that he had worn at his anointing. The remaining coronation garments and ornaments were apparently used to adorn the effigy. The corpse of Edward II, and all subsequent monarchs, was merely embalmed and wrapped in cerecloth.[3]

The primacy of the display function of the effigy is clear from the construction methods used. The face was usually modelled using a death mask, the making of which was the responsibility of tallow-chandlers. It involved taking a negative mould from the dead face up to a line well forward of the ears but including the main features. A wig of human hair would later hide the ears. On the effigies of Edward III and

[1]This account is based on Henry Chettle, 'The Order and Proceeding at the Funerall of the Right High and Mighty Princesse Elizabeth Queene of England, France and Ireland from the Palace of Westminster, called Whitehall: to the Cathedrall Church of Westminster. 28th April 1603' in *A Third Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts* 3 vols (London: F Gogan, 1751) I,51-4; and CA, Vincent MS 151 fol.521. See also Stow,p.815; BL, Additional MS 5408; 35324; Bod., Ashmole MS 818 fol.20.

[2]St. Edward, Henry II, Richard I and Edward I are examples. See Hope,pp.518-31.

[3]The same development occurred in France where the bodies of Charles VIII (d. 1498) and all succeeding kings were buried naked. See Giesey (1960),pp.108-112.

Henry VII the ears were omitted altogether.[5] Verisimilitude mattered only in what would be seen.

What purpose lay behind the display of the effigy of the dead Queen? John Stow, writing not long after the event, described the effect of the effigy upon onlookers as follows: when 'they beheld her statue and picture lying upon the coffin set forth in Royall Robes, [...] there was such a generall sighing and groning, and weeping, and the like hath not beene seene or knowne in the memorie of man'.[6]

Such general grief seems idealized, however, particularly in the light of John Clapham's remarks on the spectators of the procession who were busy analysing Elizabeth's reign. Some drew a positive picture but others had negative comments to make.[7] It is not surprising that there was no national consensus of support because the political success and popularity which Elizabeth had enjoyed in the 1580s had severely waned in her last decade. Elizabeth died leaving a legacy of government debt, and an unsolved war in the Netherlands. The country scarcely mourned her. All attention

[5]R. P. Howgrave-Graham, 'Royal Portraits in Effigy: Some New Discoveries in Westminster Abbey', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, (19 May 1953),465-74 (pp.159-60); he cites John Harvey, fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

[6]Stow,p.815. Stow's *Annales* were originally published in 1592 and re-issued in 1605. Stow died in 1605 and if this was his account it was written not long after the actual events. The 1615 edition which I have looked at was completed and considerably altered by one Edmond Howes. See also Thomas Dekker, *The Wonderful Year* ([London (?)]: [.n. pub.], 1603),p.3.

[7]John Clapham, *Elizabeth of England: certain observations concerning the life and reign of Queen Elizabeth* ed. by E. P. Read and C. Read (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951),p.113.

was focused on the arrival of the new King who, it was fondly hoped, would revitalize the policies of government as well as providing a new charismatic leader and male hero.[9]

In her final years, Elizabeth's political difficulties threatened to mar her official public image as the Virgin Queen, or as Gloriana, Spenser's 'most royall Queene or Empresse'.[9] At the same time, Elizabeth as Cynthia, Diana or Belphoebe, Spenser's personification of the private virtues of his Queen, also suffered from the ever-widening disparity between the image of the ever-youthful virgin queen and the reality of old age. Courtiers were not beyond engaging in mockery.[10]

Elizabeth's defence was to don the trappings of her Gloriana image. John Clapham comments, 'In her latter time, when she showed herself in public, she was always magnificent in apparel, supposing haply thereby, that the eyes of people, being dazzled by the glittering aspect of those accidental ornaments would not so easily discern the marks of age and

[9]Christopher Haigh *Elizabeth I* (London: Longman, 1988),p.165. On Elizabeth's unpopularity amongst common people, see ibid.,pp.160-1. On James's initial popularity, see N. E. M. McClure, ed., *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, 2 vols (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939),I,189-90; Lee (1990),p.106.

[9]For references to Gloriana in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* see Prologue,2,4; I.i.3, vii.46, ix.13-6, x.58-9, xi.7, xii.18-41; II.ii.40-3, ix.4-7 in J. C. Smith and E. De Selincourt, eds., *Spenser: Poetical Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912). See also Jeffrey Fruen, '"True Glorious Type": The Place of Gloriana in *The Faerie Queene*', *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Annual* 7 (1986),pp.147-73.

[10]Haigh (1988),pp.164-6. Even Elizabeth's godson John Harington produced pen-caricatures of the Queen as a silly old woman.

decay of natural beauty'.[11]

Artists could rejuvenate her features, too. The *Ditchley*-type portrait, which dominates the years following the Armada, embodies a relatively realistic approach to the ageing Queen, which may have been due to the Flemish influence and the atelier of De Critz/Gheeraerts. However, late portraits of the Queen in her Belphoebe mode of 'most vertuous and beautiful Lady', such as *The Rainbow* (c.1600-03), adopt a mask of youth. The *Coronation Portrait of Elizabeth I*, painted either shortly before or just after the Queen's death (c.1600-10), places the mask of youth on the public Gloriana image (figure 52). The portrait depicts the Queen in her coronation regalia, orb and sceptre in hand, her long hair flowing down onto her shoulders in sign of virginity.[11] Disguising the Queen's age in portraits became an official policy.[13]

Death completed the split between image and reality: Gloriana, the imperial ruler was reduced to a corpse. The funeral effigy went some way, however, towards preserving the Gloriana

[11]Clapham,p.86. The Queen's wardrobe was reputed to have brought £60,000 when it was auctioned off after her death. See Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of the Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987),p.141.

[11]Roy Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963),p.22; John N. King, 'Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43 (1990),30-74 (pp.42-3); Elizabeth W. Pomeroy, *Reading the Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1989),pp.9-12. The original painting (c. 1559) has been lost but the later *Coronation* portrait may itself have been used as a funerary image.

[11]In 1596 the Privy Council ordered all public officers to aid the Queen's Serjeant Painter in seeking out all unseemly portraits of her, that they might be destroyed. See Strong (1963),p.5 citing *Acts* ed. J. R. Dasent, xxvi,69.

52. The *Coronation Portrait of Elizabeth I*, artist unknown (1600-1610), National Portrait Gallery.

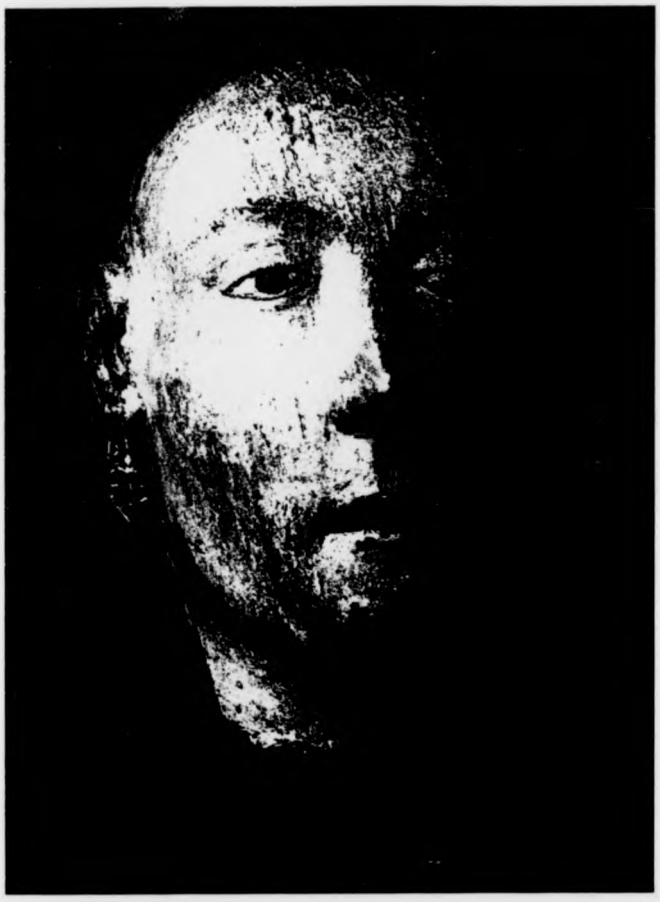
fiction. Elizabeth's original funeral effigy does not survive but, as I shall argue later, it is likely that a death mask was used in its production and, thus, that wrinkles and other features of ageing would have been reproduced on the effigy's face.[14] In spite of this, all the secondary source materials suggest that Elizabeth's effigy was made to appear youthful in the funeral procession. In the written accounts, Clapham comments that the Queen's image was 'all very exquisitely framed to resemble life'. Similarly the Venetian ambassador states that the effigy was carved in wood and coloured 'so faithfully that she seems alive'.[15] These reports need, however, to be considered with care. References to verisimilitude are a constant of funeral accounts from at least the late fourteenth century. For the funeral of Edward III (1377), for example, a certain Stephen Hadley was paid £22 4*s*. 11*d*. 'pro factura unius ymaginis ad similitudinem Regis'.[16] Yet verisimilitude obviously meant something rather different to the fourteenth century craftsmen who modelled the head of Anne of Bohemia (d.1394) than it did to the Renaissance masters who worked on the image of Henry VII (figure 53).[17] The iconographic evidence of the procession

[14]See this chapter,pp.178-9.

[15]Clapham,p.112; CSPV,X (1603-7),212.

[16]Hope,p.532. See also Thomas of Walsingham's description of the effigies Henry V (d. 1422), cited by Hope,pp.535-6, and Henry VIII, ibid,p.540.

[17]Benkard, Ernst, *Undying Faces: A Collection of Death Masks* trans. by Margaret M. Green (Hogarth Press: London, 1929),p.29. Mercer concludes that textual references to similitude are similarly unreliable in the field of tomb sculpture and that evidence must be gleaned from the tomb effigies themselves. See Eric Mercer, *English Art 1553-1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962),pp.238-9. For a description and illustration of Henry VII's effigy, see my section on effigy design later in this chapter, pp.178-80.



53. Head of effigy of Anne of Bohemia (d.1394), Undercroft Museum, Westminster Abbey. (For the effigy head of Henry VII, see figure 62.)

drawings is more reliable. In BL, Additional MS 5408 the effigy has flaming red hair and eyes wide open, strongly suggesting that it was coloured and wore a wig in an attempt to reproduce the 'maske of youth' of the *Coronation* portrait.

The effigy also wore the trappings of rule and majesty as the charges for the funeral indicate:

Item for x yarde of crimson sattin to make a Robe for the representacon at xvj' the yard viij[11]

Item for xj yard of white fustian to lyne the same Robe at xviii' the yard xvj' iij[11]

The crimson robes Parliament of Elizabeth's effigy were traditional, although the decision to line them with white may have been a symbolic reference to her status as Virgin Queen.[11] Upon the effigy's head was the imperial crown and in its hands the orb and sceptre, symbols of sovereignty. All these features indicate that the effigy was intended to perpetuate the Majesty of the Crown, rather as Ernst Kantorowicz has suggested that French royal funeral effigies did.[11] The happy conjunction between effigy-style required to fulfil this function and the Gloriana image of Elizabeth made the effigy symbolism particularly resonant on this occasion.

[11]P.R.O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 554; cited by Hope,p.553.

[11]Queen consort effigies also wore red robes. Elizabeth's effigy, like those of Henry V, Henry VII and Henry VIII wore Parliament robes, a purple mantle, and robes of crimson velvet, adorned with minever and ermine. See Hope,pp.535-6;541;551; and CA, Briscoe MS II fol.313.

[11]Kantorowicz,pp.423,446.

The effect of this life-like, magisterial effigy of the dead Queen on observers was the spontaneous expression of grief recorded by Stow. Clapham emphasizes the causal relationship between effigy and emotion: 'At the sight thereof, divers of the beholders fell a weeping'. The image of the dead queen was being deliberately used to create an impression of community feeling, or 'communitas' to borrow the term used by Victor Turner. Of course, one must be wary of taking such expressions of national grief at face value. The record of 'grief' in Clapham and Stow may simply be conventional, in which case the textual record becomes part of the process of creating an impression of political consensus or *collective effervescence*, to borrow Durkheim's term.[11] I am not arguing that there were none who genuinely mourned the Queen but simply that the homogeneity of the emotional response was a product of the performance of the funeral procession and its record.

Continuity and consensus were underlined by the form of the performance: the procession. The effigy of the dead Queen appeared within a hierarchically-ordered convoy. It comprised representatives of a range of social groups, including the whole of the late Queen's household, organized according to their relative status, mirroring society. As the transcription of the funeral procession of Elizabeth given in Appendix I illustrates, apart from the inclusion of the effigy the structure was basically the same as that of a nobleman, as described in chapter 1. The difference was largely one of

[11]The same may well be true of Dekker's statement that 'Never did the English Nation behold so much black worne as there was at her funerall'. See Dekker (1603),p.3.

scale. All members of the royal household, right down to the workers from the scullery and stable, were included.[12] The Lord Mayor of London representing the City participated, occupying a position close to the effigy. Other additions include three groups of four trumpeters, marking the supreme rank of royalty. Similarly three horses, in addition to the Horse of Honour, were included in the procession, each trapped to the ground in black, bearing black feathers on its crest and rump and a shafferon on its crown (figure 54).[13] The heraldic language of a royal funeral provided a means of expressing authority on a national scale. At Elizabeth's funeral there appeared the royal standards of the Dragon (Wales), Greyhound (Tudor) and Lion (England, later Scotland).[14] The French ambassador and the agents for Venice and the Estates marched in the procession, underlining the significance of royal funerals for international diplomacy (figure 55).

The royal effigy occupied the central position in the funeral procession and proximity to the effigy directly equated with status. Whereas in the funerals of the nobility the procession embodied the local community, in the royal funeral the form became an embodiment of the state. The royal funeral procession constituted a visual paradigm of social order, centring around the effigy as society was centred around the

[12]12,000 yards of black fabric was apportioned to the mourners but it was thought it would be insufficient for the 1,600 participants. See Salisbury,XV,56; Sandford,p.497.

[13]BL, Additional MS 5408.

[14]J.P. Brooke-Little, (Norroy and Ulster King of Arms), *Royal Heraldry: Beasts and Badges of Britain* (Derby: Pilgrim Press, 1987),pp.3;9. See also Bod., Ashmole MS 818 fol.1.

54. Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester and Master of the Horse. He is leading the Palfrie of Honour in the funeral procession of Queen Elizabeth (c. 1603), after William Camden (?) BL, Additional MS 5408.

55. The French Ambassador, with the ambassadorial long train, at Queen Elizabeth's funeral (c. 1603), after William Camden (?) BL, Additional MS 5408.

monarch.[15]

The Political Need for Elizabeth's Funeral Effigy: Succession Theories and the Display of the Royal Person

The processional demonstration of order had obvious value for King James, yet the effigy directed the collective emotional response back towards the dead Queen. What purpose could this serve for the new monarch? Certainly James and his English advisors attached value to the occasion. Estimates of the total cost of the proceedings vary from £11,305 to £20,000 but even the lower sum was enormous at a time when the cost of the most extravagant noble funerals did not exceed £3,000.[16] What benefits did they expect to reap from the performance of the effigy ritual? The politico-legal theory of the king's two bodies, which Kantorowicz used to elucidate the symbolism of the effigy ritual in the French royal funeral, provides a useful context in which to begin exploring answers to this question.

Despite its French application, it was in England, not France,

[15]See chapter 1,pp.32,43-4. On anthropological theories that treat the body as an image of society, see Woodbridge,pp.270-1.

[16]Gittings (p.226) has £11,305 1s. but does not cite her source. Roger Lockyer, *The Early Stuarts: A Political History of England 1603-1642* (London: Longman, 1989),p.82 gives £20,000, a figure derived from D. H. Willson, ed., *The Parliamentary Diary of Robert Bowyer 1606-1607* (Minneapolis, 1931), Appendix A,p.372. Lockyer's figure may be a later estimate based on a broader definition of the funeral proceedings, including, for example, extra costs such as construction of the tomb in Westminster Abbey, £765.

that the theory was developed and expounded by jurists, most famously by the lawyer Edmund Plowden in relation to the Duchy of Lancaster case in 1564. It went on to play an important role in Elizabethan succession politics.[17] Plowden distinguished between the king's body natural, which was subject to error, decay and ultimately death, and the body politic, mystically incorporating all the subjects of the realm of which the king was the head, which was unerring and immortal.

For our purposes Plowden's most important application of the theory is his explanation of what happens when a monarch dies. Normally the body politic is contained within the body natural but at death a disjunction occurs as the body politic is vested in the natural body of the successor:

> As to this Body the King never dies, and his natural Death is not called in our Law [...] the Death of the King, but the Demise of the King, not signifying by the Word [Demise] that the body politic of the King is dead, but that there is a Separation of the two Bodies, and that the Body politic is transferred and conveyed over from the Body natural now dead, or now removed from the Dignity royal, to another Body natural.[18]

It is easy to see how the Plowden theory could be applied to the royal funeral ritual with the two bodies of the monarch, the body natural and the body politic, being represented by the corpse and the effigy respectively. In this

[17] See Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977),p.11; Kantorowicz,p.447; J. R. Hale, *Renaissance Europe 1480-1520* (London: Fontana, 1971),p.307.

[18] Edmund Plowden, *Commentaries or Reports* (London, 1816),p.212a, cited by Kantorowicz,p.13. See also Giesey (1960),pp.177-8; Axton,pp.27-8.

interpretation the effigy preserves the body politic or Majesty of the King during the ceremonial interregnum between the death of one king and the public display of his successor, thus demonstrating the perpetuity of kingship.[29] I have found no contemporary application of the theory to the royal funeral. However, the herald recording the offering ceremony at the funeral of Sir Geoffrey Ellwas, Alderman of London, (14/5/1616) remarks, 'Be it remembered that the two pennons of his Company are not to be offered at all because the Companyes dye not'.[30] This suggests that funeral symbolism was indeed understood in terms of the theory of the king's two bodies.

Certainly, exponents of the king's two bodies theory expected to find favour with James. A presentation copy of Plowden's succession treatise, which had been written in support of Mary Queen of Scot's claims to the English throne, was prepared for the King.[31]

James, predictably, was deeply interested in succession theories and expressed his ideas in his *Trew Law of Free Monarchies*. This was first published in 1598 and then published again, with *Basilikon Doron*, as James's message to his new English subjects on his succession. However, James's exposition of the succession process differs from that of Plowden in significant ways. He does not make the theoretical distinction between the body natural and the body politic,

[29]Chapter 3,pp.105-6.

[30]BL, Harley MS 1368 fol.29.

[31]Axton,pp.19-20.

referring only to the personalities of the new and old kings.[32] Thus, kingship is inseparable from the person of the King.[33] He also does not envisage the process of transference in the rather cumbersome way described in Plowden. Instead James argues that the throne was never vacant, 'for at the very moment of the expiring of the king reigning, the nearest lawful heir entereth in his place'. Thus James emphasizes that royal succession happens instantaneously.

James's succession theory is reminiscent of Jean Bodin, the French advocate of absolute monarchy. Bodin had written, 'Car il est certain que le Roy ne meurt jamais, comme l'on dit, ainsi si tost que l'un est decedé, le plus proche masle de son estoc est saisi du Royaume et en possession d'iceluy au paravant qu'il soit couronné'.[34] While Bodin's use of the phrase 'comme l'on dit' suggests that the maxim was well-known by the time that he was writing in c.1576, his particular expression of the succession process is close to the language used by James in the *True Law*, suggesting the latter may have been directly indebted to Bodin's work. Bodin's *Les Six Livres de la République* was not to be published in English translation until 1606 but it had appeared in French in 1576 and 1583. Bodin was well known in England. In 1579 the poet

[32]Bacon similarly characterized the king's person and the Crown as inseparable in the 'Post-Nati' debate in Parliament. See J. Spedding and D. D. Heath eds., *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 7 vols (London: [n. pub.], 1892),VII,665-7 and Kantorowicz,p.365.

[33]Tudor political thinkers, like Plowden, had attached divinity to the office rather than the person, a necessary distinction given the circumstances under which the Tudor dynasty acceded to the throne.

[34]Kantorowicz,p.409,n.319 citing Bodin, *Les Six Livres de la République*,I,8,160.

Gabriel Harvey claimed that at Cambridge 'You can not stepp into a schollars studye but (ten to on[e]) you shall litely finde open ether Bodin de Republica or Le Royes Exposition uppon Aristotles Politiques'.[11]

Whatever the source of James's theories of instantaneous succession they were formally acknowledged by the representatives of his new subjects in the opening of Parliament in 1603. James himself alluded to the concept in his address, thanking them for receiving him so joyously into this 'Seate (which God by my birthright and lineall descent had in the fulnesse of time provided for me)'. Parliament responded 'That immediately upon the Dissolution and Decease of Elizabeth late Queen of England, the imperial Crown of the Realm of England, and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions and Rights belonging to the same, did by inherent birthright, and lawful and undoubted succession, descend and come in your most excellent Majesty, as being lineally, justly and lawfully, next and sole heir of the Blood Royal of their Realm'.[11]

James's political theories were in harmony with legal reality. From the thirteenth century the new king's reign had been

[11]J. P. Sommerville, *Politics and Ideology in England, 1603-1640* (London: Longman, 1986),p.39 citing Edward J. L. Scott ed., *Letter-Booke of Gabriel Harvey A. D. 1573-1580* ([London (?)]: Camden Society, 1884),p.79. See also J. H. M. Salmon, *The French Religious Wars in English Political Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959),p.6 and Appendix B,pp.181-3. On the English tradition of absolutist thought, independent of Bodin, see Sommerville,p.38.

[11]McIlwain,pp.xxxvii,269. See also Edward Forset, *A comparative discourse of the bodies natural and politique. Wherein [...] is set forth the true forme of a commonweale, with the dutie of subjects, and the right of the soveraigne* (London: [n. pub.], 1606),p.33.

dated from the day of his predecessor's demise. Further, James's legal position was ritually affirmed in public ceremonies of proclamation which took place on the very morning of Elizabeth's demise. The ritual nature of the proclamation is signalled by its repetition in key London locations: Whitehall Gates, Temple Bar and Cheapside. According to Stow, princes, peers, prelates and knights were in attendance in Cheapside, 'besides the huge number of common persons, all which with great reverence gave attention unto the Proclamation being read by M. Secretary Cecill'.[37] In the next few days proclamations would follow in the provinces.[38]

James's staging of Elizabeth's funeral ceremony, complete with effigy ritual, is an acknowlegement, however, that legal accession and ritual proclamation were not enough. He recognized that a ceremonial interregnum remained as far as display of the royal person was concerned. The apparent incompatibility of James's succession theories and Plowden's theory of the king's two bodies was less important than the strongly felt need to fill this ceremonial interregnum. Thus the fiction of the effigy was enacted.

Why could James not fill the ceremonial interregnum in person? The simple explanation seems to be that at the time of the proclamation James was far away in Edinburgh. In fact he did

[37]Stow,p.816. See also Salisbury,XV,25-6; CSPV,IX (1592-1603),540; John Bruce ed., *The Diary of John Manningham* (London: Camden Society, 1868),p.147; Sackville-West,p.4; Dekker (1603), pp.9-10.

[38]Clapham,p.106,107. For earlier, less elaborate proclamation ceremonies seems, see Stow,p.634 and Nichols (1848),p.178 (Elizabeth); Stow,p.612 and Duffy,p.527 (Mary); and Stow,pp.471-2 (Henry VII).

not even receive confirmation of Elizabeth's death until Robert Carey, son of Lord Hunsdon, arrived in Edinburgh five days later.[11] There would be no public ceremonial affirmation of his position in London until his coronation on 26 July 1603. Display of Elizabeth's effigy in the funeral procession, by perpetuating the public ruler image of the dead Queen, filled the ceremonial gap, demonstrating a continuity of government until the arrival of the new King.[11]

The distinction between ritual proclamation and ritual display was felt by contemporaries. In his sermon preached at Paul's Cross on the Sunday after Elizabeth's death, John Hayward highlighted the perceived difference between the declaration of the new king and his physical presence: 'His name hetherto onely proclaimed in our streetes, hath stilled the ragings of the people, danting the enemies of true religion, and causing the enemies of peace, that thought now to look out, to hide their heads. What shall we not hope that the presence of his person will doe, when the sound of his name hath done so much already?'.[11] This preoccupation with the physical presence of the King fits in with Starkey's assertions that Tudor and

[11]Willson,p.159.

[11]There has been a suggestion that obsequies for Elizabeth were celebrated at each of the London churches using a *corpus fictum*. See R. E. C. Waters, *Parish Registers in England* (London: F. J. Roberts, 1887),p.47. It is unlikely, however, that this refers to multiple effigies of Elizabeth and is much more likely to refer to empty coffins perhaps bearing replica royal symbols to represent the dead Queen. See chapter 4,pp.140-1.

[11]John Hayward, *Gods Universal right proclaimed: A sermon preached at St. Paules Crosse, 27 March 1603* (London: [n. pub.], 1603),p.140. See also Millar Maclure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534-1642* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958),pp.225-6.

Stuart kingship, while it retained the theocratic bias of medieval kingship, 'centred [itself] round the sanctity of the royal body [...] rather than around the heavily Christian symbolism of the coronation'.[41]

James and Elizabeth's Royal Funeral: the Exploitation of Tradition

James's absence does not mean that he took no interest in the funeral of his predecessor. Admittedly, the details were in the hands of Robert Cecil and the remainder of the late Queen's Council, kept in place by a warrant requested of the Scottish King during Elizabeth's final illness, but James kept abreast of the arrangements and willingly accommodated himself to the requirements of royal funeral ritual.[43] He wrote to Robert Cecil on 11 April 1603 'we look to hear by you also how all things stand for the funeral and the coronation'.[44]

[41]David Starkey, 'Representations Through Intimacy: A Study in the Symbolism of Monarchy and Court Office in Early Modern England', in *Symbols and Sentiments* ed. by Ioan Lewis (London: Academic, 1977),pp.187-224 (p.221).

[43]Salisbury,XV,345-6; Willson,p.175. The Councillors that James inherited were Archbishop Whitgift; Egerton, Lord Keeper; Sackville, Lord Treasurer; Nottingham, Lord Admiral; the Earls of Shrewsbury and Worcester; and Robert Cecil, the central figure of government. James thus maintained a remarkable degree of government continuity at his succession, a policy which was reflected in the royal household. See Neil Cuddy, 'The Revival of the Entourage: the Bedchamber of James I, 1603-1625', in *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. by David Starkey and others (London: Longman, 1987),p.176.

[44]McClure,I,193. Robert Cecil had a keen interest in antiquarian scholarship and libraries and was a friend of Sir Robert Cotton, although after 1608 the latter became increasingly identified with Cecil's rival, Northampton. See

James's recognition of the general utility of traditional customs in governing his people is clear from his comments in *Basilikon Doron* (1598).[11]

An examination of the correspondence which took place between James and his advisors reveals that the rationale behind the performance of Elizabeth's funeral ceremony with its effigy ritual was more complex than has hitherto been suggested. It was not just that there was a need to fill the ceremonial vacuum occasioned by the absence of a monarch in the capital while James was still journeying south. In London, the ritual centre of royal power, display of the dead Queen's effigy took ceremonial precedence over the display of the new King.

Even after his arrival James had to wait outside the capital until the funeral proceedings were over before making his entry. Thomas Howard, Lord Admiral, and Cecil wrote to Henry Howard on 14 April 1603 to advise on the timing of the King's progress towards London. They argued that it was 'impossible for the ladies to wait on the Queen [Anne], at Berwick, till after the late Queen's funeral'. The king, therefore, should not come to London until after Easter and then await the arrival of his wife between twelve and twenty miles from

Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979),p.119.

[11]McIlwain,p.27. James was also persuaded to continue touching for the King's Evil despite Calvinist misgivings. See Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. by J. E. Anderson (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973),pp.191-2. Brought up as an Anglican, Charles I would not share his father's scruples. Belief in the royal miracle became part of the Caroline *religion royale*, ibid.,p.192.

London before they entered the capital together."[10] Similarly, Robert Cecil advised the Council that the King needed to slow down his journey south because: 'the State could not attend both the performance of that duty [the funeral] to our late Sovereign, and of this other of his Majesty's reception'."[11]

The obsequies of dead monarchs were traditionally staged before the royal entry of their successors, a custom that no was doubt partly due to the practical considerations highlighted by the above correspondence. The same officials and dignitaries were required for the two ceremonies and could not play their part in both at the same time."[12] There was also, however, a shared assumption that the new King could not be displayed in London until the old Queen was buried.

We have seen how a tradition regarding the absence of the succeeding monarch may have arisen in France but there is no evidence to suggest how the same tradition came about in England. Certainly no Tudor monarch mourned at the funeral of his or her predecessor."[13] Disparities of age and gender between new and old monarchs, which contravened heraldic regulations, may have been contributory factors on these occasions, as they may have been in determining James's

"CSPD,VIII (1603-10),p.3.

"Salisbury,XV,40,53; D. R. Woolf, 'Two Elizabeths? James I and the Late Queen's Famous Memory', *Canadian Journal of History*, 20 (1985),167-91 (p.173).

"In the event James's royal entry would be delayed until March 1604 because of plague in the capital, Clapham,p.116.

"For the French tradition, see chapter 3,p.106. On chief mourners at Tudor funerals, see ibid,p.103 n.4.

absence.[50] What is clear is that it was not deemed acceptable for James to display his royal person in London before Elizabeth's funeral. The ceremonial logic of the effigy ritual filling the interregnum in royal public display was actively maintained.

The need to avoid eclipsing the display of Elizabeth's effigy in the funeral procession also impinged upon James during his journey south. The new King was eager to display his person in full majesty to his new subjects. He planned a royal entry into the second city, York, and ordered jewels, regalia, coaches and heralds to be sent up from London.[51] The Council hadn't wanted to send these appurtenances further north than Burghley, Northamptonshire, but James insisted and also called for some of the Councillors, including Cecil to journey up and meet him there. The York entry was staged on 16 April. James progressed on foot to the minster, refusing to use a coach, 'I will have no coach for the people are desirous to see a King, and so they shall, for they shall as well see his body as his face'.[52] James clearly understood the fascination his subjects had with viewing the royal body. As Edward Forset expressed it, 'so when the person of a Prince is looked upon (whereon we doe so seldom gaze enough) our inward cogitations [are] filled with a reverence of the regall maiestie seated in the flesh (otherwise as infirme and full of imperfections as other is)'.[53]

[50]See chapter 1,p.34; Loach,p.61.

[51]Willson,p.162.

[52]Nichols, (1828),I,78.

[53]Forset,p.32.

Nevertheless, James acknowledged that the display of his own royal person was of secondary importance. He wrote to Henry Howard on 12 April with reference to the planned York entry, saying, 'We mean to enter in a manner more public; and therefore like it well that some of our servants and officers have authority to meet us, not being any of those principals, which may diminish part of the honour and dignity which belongs to our dearest sister as long as her body is above ground'.

James went on to give reasons for curbing the display of his royal person. He declared that he was not only her successor, 'but so near of blood as we will not stand so much upon the ceremony of our own joy, but would have all things observed which may testify it well that they [Elizabeth's household] remain still entire as they were at her death'.[11] James here points to a further rationale behind his desire to see Elizabeth's funeral performed in accordance with tradition. Fulfilment of his duties to the dead Queen demonstrated his family or lineal association with her and thus the rightness of his succession. Primogeniture was at the root of James's claim to the English throne. As Maurice Lee puts it, 'whatever English common law or Henry VIII's will or the English parliament might say, James, at the moment of Elizabeth's death, would become King of England by hereditary right'.[11] In encouraging the staging of the funeral, James

[11]Salisbury,XV,44.

[11]Lee (1990),p.65. See also the wording of the proclamation which gave details of James's descent from Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, emphasizing his lineal sucession from Tudor stock and note the hereditary basis of James's succession claims in both the *Trew Law* and *Basilikon*

may have been partly constrained by public expectation but this coincided with his own political need to enact a 'traditional' funeral ritual.[56] It enabled him to mobilize bias in favour of his right to the English throne: imagined power, through ritual, can create power.

James's willingness to accommodate himself to the requirements of a traditional royal funeral makes nonsense of Scaramelli's provocative interpretation of his absence from the funeral proceedings. James's behaviour, he declared, was indicative of a deep antipathy for his predecessor: 'he wishes to see her [Elizabeth] neither alive nor dead, for he can never expel from his memory the fact that his mother was put to death at the hands of the public executioner'.[57]

The Vulnerability of the Royal Funeral: Threats to the Ritual Demonstration of Order

Despite James's right of lineal succession, he was not the only contender for the English throne and his status as an alien made his own candidature equivocal. His first cousin,

Doron. See ibid.,p.61; Nichols (1828),I,27; Willson,p.141.

[56]The only way in which Elizabeth's funeral broke with tradition was in the costume of the female mourners who wore fashionable farthingales in place of the customary medieval-style garments. See figure 56.

[57]CSPV,X (1603-7),9. Woolf (p.173) says this testimony must be taken with a pinch of salt not as evidence, as Trevor-Roper has argued, that the King had a strong antipathy to the Queen. See Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Queen Elizabeth's First Historian: William Camden and the Beginnings of English 'Civil' History* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1971),p.10.

56. Ladies at Queen Elizabeth's funeral, from BL, Additional 35324 fol.38. They are dressed in fashionable farthingales rather than the traditional female mourning dress depicted in figure 14. In this respect Elizabeth's funeral did break with tradition.

57. Sir Robert Cecil in the funeral procession of Elizabeth I, from BL, Additional 35324 fol.35. The small, stunted figure, pasted over a larger, whited out figure, seems to represent a deliberate slur against the unpopular Chancellor and strikes a note of disharmony in the visual record of Elizabeth's funeral procession.

Arabella Stuart, similarly traced her descent through the line of Margaret Tudor, but she had been born and brought up in England. The will of Henry VIII also presented difficulties. It passed over Margaret Tudor and stipulated that, should Henry's children die without issue, the succession should pass to the line of Mary, his younger sister, who had married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. The current representative of that line was virtually excluded on the grounds of the dubious legality of his parents' marriage and his personal unfitness for rule. However another Suffolk claimant, the Lord Beauchamp, was rumoured to be gathering forces just after the Queen's death. There was also a foreign contender, the Spanish Infanta, whose claims were eloquently set out by the English Jesuit Robert Parsons in his *Conference about the Next Succession to the Crown of England* (1594) which denied the principle of hereditary right.[11]

Although historians have been traditionally dismissive of these other claimants, contemporaries could not foresee how smoothly the succession would be effected. Elizabeth had refused to confirm James's status as heir to the throne and very few were aware of the secret correspondence between the Scottish King and Robert Cecil, who was to mastermind the transfer of power.[11] John Harington certainly seems to have anticipated a contested succession and wrote a tract defending James's claim to the throne, presumably with the intention of

[11]Willson,pp.138-40; McClure,I,p,190. See chapter 4,pp.116-9.

[11]Willson,pp.153-5; Sir Ralph Winwood, *Memorials of Affairs of State*, ed. by Edmund Sawyer, 3 vols (London: [n. pub.], 1725),I,324.

getting it published should the accession have been disputed.[10] Harington's worries reflected a general fear that something might happen to jeopardize James's position and that the country might be plunged into civil disorder and possibly even war, perhaps with foreign intervention.

The Venetian ambassador reported 'London is all in arms for fear of the Catholics'.[11] On 12 March 1603, Chief Justice Popham wrote to Robert Cecil, 'Of all other places, the confines of London would be well looked unto, for the most dissolute and dangerous people of England are there, and upon the least occasion will repair thither. These fears may not have had much ground in real danger but, as historians agree, stability, or the lack of it was a central issue in Renaissance London and that 'the *perception* of crisis in the capital was common'.[12]

Precautionary measures were instigated by the Privy Council mainly under the auspices of Cecil. A watch was appointed in London during the time of Elizabeth's illness and death. Catholic priests, 'likely to raise sedition' were sent to France, while other Catholics were taken into custody and 'all wandering and suspected persons arrested in all parts of the

[10]Lee (1990),pp.65,95-6; Willson,p.140; Clapham,p.101; John Harington, *A tract on the succession to the crown, a. d. 1602*, ed. by C. R. Markham (London: Roxburghe Club, 1880).

[11]Ian Dunlop, *The Palaces and Progresses of Elizabeth I* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962),p.193.

[12]James Knowles, 'The Spectacle of the Realm: civic consciousness, rhetoric and ritual in early modern London', in *Theatre and Government Under the Early Stuarts*, ed. by J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993),pp.159-160.

realm'. The Council sent warnings to strategic fortresses and war-ships were at the ready to guard the sea-coast against 'any outward attempts'.[63] The ritual demonstration of order in the funeral ceremony would be welcome and would play its part in the successful process of transferring power to the new King.

There is some evidence of opposition to the Council's plans to use the funeral ritual to help smooth the succession process. The Privy Councillors met privately at the Lord Admiral's house to arrange conveyance of the body from Richmond to Westminster. Clapham reports that 'the barons of the realm, to whom it belonged as peers to direct affairs for the present, consult ordinarily with the Council of Estates, and now and then some of them, finding their own strength and not willing to lose the least advantage of the perogative, would for slight causes contend with the ancient Councillors, whose power they knew was determined by the Queen's death.' Some of the lords took exception to the meeting, 'alleging that they ought not to propound and conclude anything in Council without their privity and consent'.[64] This attempt to take political advantage of the ceremonial interregnum seems, however, to have had no wider repercussions.

As I have argued, participants in funeral processions normally displayed a propensity towards co-operation in the ritual

[63]Letters were sent to noblemen in the provinces instructing them to maintain order, Salisbury,XII,p.671; Clapham,p.104; CSPV,IX (1592-1603),63.

[64]Clapham,p.107.

display of order."[11] On this occasion, however, one or two protagonists were experiencing conflictual motives that threatened to disrupt the funeral performance.

Lady Arabella Stuart had been intended as chief mourner, a key symbolic role which heraldic regulations determined should be taken by the woman nearest in blood to the deceased. Lady Arabella's candidacy rested with her 'royal blood'. Clapham reports, however, that, 'the Lady Arabella refused, saying that since her access to the Queen in her lifetime might not be permitted, she would not after her death, be brought upon the stage for a public spectacle'. In the event, the Marchioness of Northampton took the role.

There was also a difficulty over the involvement of the Scaramelli, the Venetian ambassador. He was sent court blacks but refused to attend the funeral because he would not be involved in a heretic service. In contrast the French ambassador did attend although it had not been the practice for him to be present at English services since the Catholic conversion of Henry IV.

In the event these disputes was kept firmly within what Ernst Goffman would call the 'back regions'."[11] Both the funeral procession and the Jacobean succession were enacted smoothly.

"Chapter 1,pp.44-5,57-8.

"McClure,I,193. Arabella Stuart's estrangement from Elizabeth is indicated in the Salisbury papers where she is reported to be eager for news of the Queen's death, Salisbury,XII,p.693. Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Penguin Press, 1959),pp.109-110,114. For a hint of discord in the pictorial record of the funeral, see figure 57.

The former was not simply a reflection of the latter but an instrumental determinant.

THE ROYAL FUNERAL EFFIGY AND THE REFORMATION

Funeral Effigies, Tomb Effigies and Elizabethan Iconophobia

The political value of the royal funeral, with its effigy ritual, has been clearly established but there remains the question of how the effigy ritual, with its overtly idolatrous overtones, was accepted and justified in the context of post-Reformation England. The Reformation had a strong iconophobic bent with the second commandment, 'Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likenesse', holding a central place in the reformist pysche.[17] In the sixteenth century the word 'image' referred primarily to a sculpted figure or model and thus effigies were a particularly sensitive medium of representation.[18] It appears that iconophobia put a stop to the use of effigies in episcopal funeral processions. In pre-Reformation England, effigies had been made for the obsequies of bishops but there is no evidence for a post-Reformation continuation of the practice.[19]

[17]Exodus 20.4 *The Geneva Bible*. See chapter 2,pp.67-71.

[18]Aston,p.17; Nigel Llewellyn, 'The Royal Body: Monuments to the Dead, For the Living', in *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture, c.1540-1660* (London: Reaktion Books, 1990),pp.218-282 (p.219); Watt,p.132.

[19]An effigy was used at the London funeral of Steven Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, on 24 February 1555/6. See Nichols (1848),p.101. The effigy is not, however, mentioned in another account of the funeral. See CA, I Series MS XI fol.121'. On bishops' effigies in fifteenth century funerals, see BL, Harley MS 6064 fol.80; CA, I Series MS III fol.52';

Royal effigies occupied a more equivocal space: their subjects might be kings not bishops but their mode of representation could equally well be described as idolatrous. I have not come across any direct evidence of attitudes to the royal effigy ritual in relation to the Reformation. In order to explore the issue, therefore, it is useful to look at a related area of funeral representation: tomb monuments. Tomb effigies and funeral effigies are, in any case, closely related representational forms. The tomb effigies of Henry II and John were created using the actual body as a model but later tomb effigies were often carved from the intermediary funeral effigy.[11]

There is a wealth of contemporary material relating to this field, providing evidence both for government defence of tomb effigies, and the antagonistic and destructive attitudes that they engendered in at least some reformers. The discussion as a whole is illustrative of the Elizabethan awareness of the ways in which images helped to create and wield power.

Kantorowicz,p.434; Cunnington and Lucas,p.168; Loach,p.60.

[11]Hope,pp.523,526; Llewellyn, *Royal Body* (1990),p.224.

Iconoclasm and the Official Protection of Tombs

In the early days of the Edwardian Reformation much iconoclastic behaviour was directed against tombs.[71] Edwardian and, later, Elizabethan governments, however, consistently issued proclamations designed to protect funerary architecture. The 1547 orders on image-breaking contained the proviso that the commemorative function of imagery was permitted. It is specifically idolatry that was outlawed. A 1550 statute aimed to protect the tombs of royalty and noblemen but the destruction continued.[72] Under Edward VI, the tombs of the dukes of York at Fotheringay were destroyed together with the tombs of the earls and dukes of Lancaster at Leicester.[73]

Elizabeth endeavoured to reinforce tomb protection in a proclamation of 19 September 1560 which ran:

> The queen's majesty, understanding that by the means of sundry people, partly ignorant, partly malicious, or covetous, there hath been of late years spoiled and broken certain ancient monuments, some of metal, some of stone, which were erected and sett up as well in churches as in other publique places within this realm only to show a memory to the posteritie of the persons there buried, or had ben benefactors to the buildings or donations of the same churches or publique places and not to norishe any kind of superstition [... People should] forbear the breaking or defacing of any parcel of any monument, or tomb, or grave, or other inscription and memory of any person deceased in any manner or place, or to

[71] Stow gives repeated examples of the destruction of tombs in London churches from Edward VI's reign. See Aston, pp.256, 315 n.75.

[72] *Statutes of the Realm*, iv/1.111;3-4 cited by Aston, p.269.

[73] Colvin, p.255. Catherine of Aragon's tomb at Peterborough was also defaced. See Wyrley, p.37.

> break any image of kings, princes or noble estates of this realm, or of any other that have been in times past erected and set up for the only memory of them to their posterity in common churches and not for any religious honour.[74]

Preservation of the memory and dignity of the nobility was a primary motive for the protection of tombs. Weever stresses these functions of the tomb when he bewails the destruction of monuments, 'by which inhumane, deformidable act, the honourable memory of many vertuous and noble persons deceased, is extinguished, and the true understanding of divers Families in these Realmes [...] is so darkened, as the true course of their inheritance is thereby partly interrupted'.[75] Henry Peacham goes further and voices the opinion that contemplation of the achievements of ancestors functions as a 'a spurre in brave and good Spirits'.[76] Contemporaries understood the value of tombs and their effigies in social or 'civil' terms. They contributed towards the preservation of order and, conversely, their violation was a threat to order.[77] Given their value in helping to effect a smooth succession, funeral effigies could similarly have been justified on civil grounds.

There was, however, a residual superstitious belief that the defacement of a tomb effigy constituted an attack on the person represented as if he were still alive. The feeling

[74]Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 4 vols (London: Yale University Press, 1964-9),II (1969),146-8. See also Bolton,p.90; Ferne,p.25.

[75]Weever,pp.52-3. See also Bod., Ashmole MS 836 fol.16; Mercer,pp.221-2; Llewellyn, *Royal Body* (1990),p.222.

[76]Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 2nd edn (London: [n. pub.], 1634),p.14. See also Wyrley ,p.30.

[77]See this chapter,p.181 and chapters 2,pp.96-7 and 10,p.328.

that there was something murderous about tomb destruction is closely paralleled by the attempts that appear to have been made on Elizabeth's life by defacing her portrait.[7]

It was perhaps in recognition of these lingering superstitions that not all accepted the official justification for images. Even within the episcopacy only Edmund Guest (1518-1577), Bishop of Salisbury, seems to have actively intervened to protect monuments. His colleagues were more interested in wiping out all traces of idolatry.[9] That some iconoclastic attacks on tombs continued is evident from Weever's complaints in his 'Ancient Funerall Monuments' published in 1631.[10] Nevertheless, after 1560 the official Anglican position was to make a clear distinction between a legal effigy, which replaced its object as part of civil honouring, and a 'scandalous image which was an art object replicating nature and rivalling the creativity of God'.[11]

[7]Ferne,pp.83,269; Gent,pp.76-7. See also Thomas,p.612.

[9]Aston,p.320-8. Nicholas Ridley (1500?-1555), Bishop of London, had to be restrained in his reform of St. Paul's: the Council issued a special order to protect the tomb of John of Gaunt, ibid.,p.270.

[10]Weever,p.54.

[11]Llewellyn, *Royal Body* (1990),p.223.

Tomb and Funeral Effigy Design: Functionalism vs. Naturalism

The primacy of the functional aspects of Elizabethan tomb effigies affected their design. The stiff and relatively primitive style of many tomb effigies of the second half of the sixteenth century were a product of a post-Reformation attitude towards representations of the human body, particularly representations in a religious setting.[11] In such contexts naturalism was not a legitimate goal.[12] The third quarter of the sixteenth century may have been particularly sensitive to sculpted human representations. This period produced few tombs which included the carved family figures that had replaced medieval weepers (figure 58). Thomson speculates that the absence of statuary on the Denton tomb at Hillesdon was based on a notion of reform propriety (figure 59).[13]

Instead heraldry dominated Elizabethan tombs as is evident from their numerous coats of arms which were sometimes incorporated into depictions of family trees.[14] Heraldry was

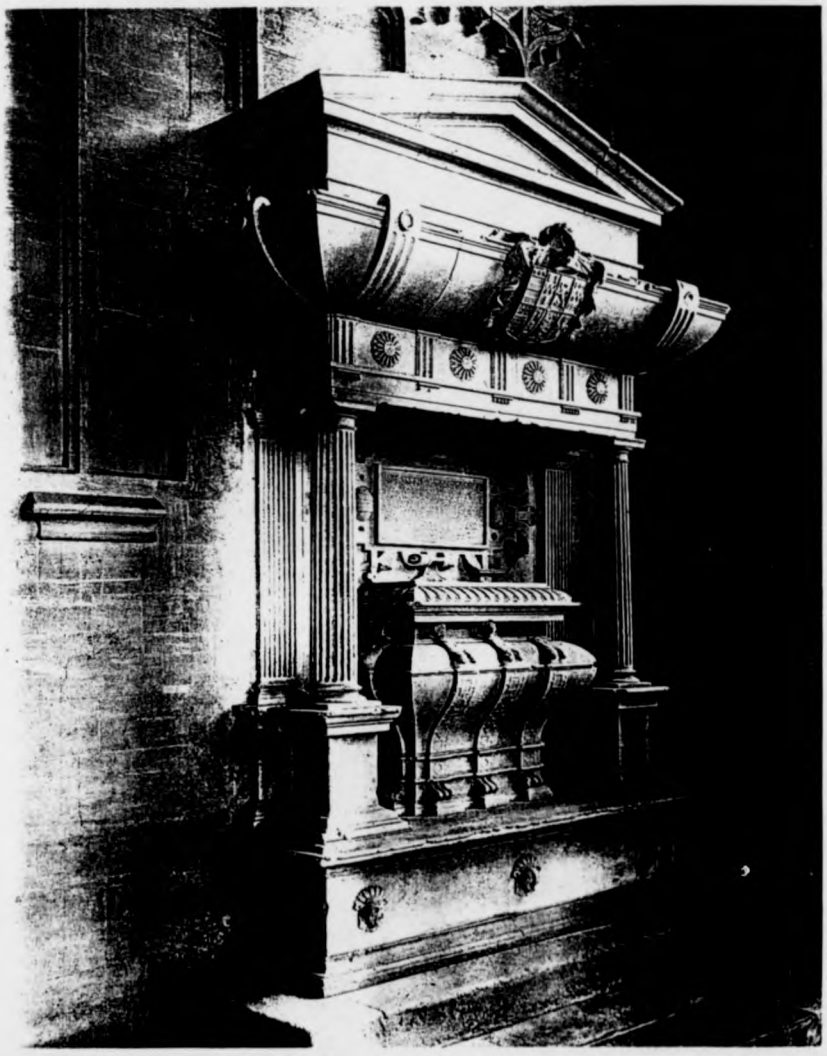
[11]Mercer,pp.226-7.

[12]Llewellyn, *Royal Body* (1990),p.223. This is, of course, a generalization. The government concept of tombs as family properties over-rode its desire for religious conformity and tombs with religious scenes continued to be produced into the Elizabethan period. See Mercer,p.220. There is, however, strong evidence for an increased interest in portraiture in tombs from the last quarter of the sixteenth century, ibid.,pp.239-43. On the increased emotionalism, freedom of pose and revived religious images of early seventeenth century tomb sculpture. See chapter 6,p.198.

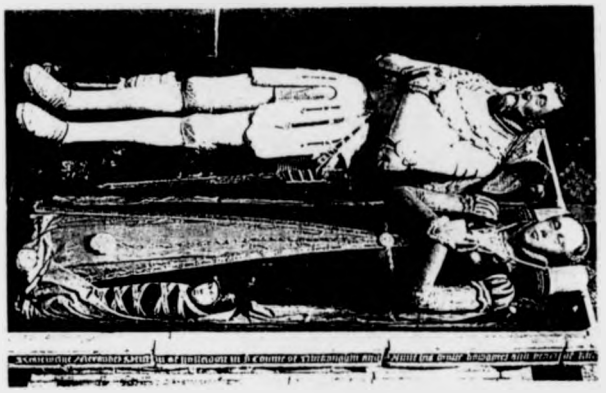
[13]Thomson,p.191. Compare the traditional effigies on the Denton tomb at Hereford Cathedral, see figure 60.

[14]Nigel Llewellyn, 'Claims to Status through Visual Codes: Heraldry on post-Reformation Funeral Monuments', in *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, ed. by Sydney Anglo (Woodbridge: Boydell

58. Monument to Raphe and Elizabeth Wyseman, alabaster and imported 'marbles', after 1594. St. Mary and All Saints, Rivenhall, Essex.



59. Monument to Alexander Denton (d.1577), Hillesden, Buckinghamshire. Commissioned by his mother, Lady Mordaunt. Sculptor, Thomas Kirby (?).



60. Monument to Alexander Denton and his wife Anne Wilson (d. in childbirth 1566). Commissioned by the father of Anne Wilson. Sculptor, Richard Parker (d.1571).

not only, however, an alternative to the depiction of the human form (I am thinking, for example, of the royal arms replacing the rood cross) it also had a subtle influence on how that form was portrayed. In her essay 'Lady Elizabeth Pope: the Heraldic Body', Ellen Chirelstien convincingly argues that Elizabethan portrait painting was influenced by the non-illusionistic ordering of heraldic coats of arms. Her comments seem to me to be equally applicable to the stiff tomb effigies of the Elizabethan period which aim at symbolic rather than naturalistic representation."

The heraldic mode of symbols and emblems was thus imitated in portraiture. Paintings were to be 'read'. In the main readers and sitters both came from the ruling elite, thus portraiture contributed to their sense of group coherence, identity and security. The overlap in technique corresponds to a shared interest in marking the status and family position in society. Portraits, and tomb effigies, like coats of arms, were statements of social standing and the antiquity of lineage." Heraldry provided a suitably anti-naturalistic mode of visual expression. It was the acceptable face of art in a deeply iconophobic society."

Press, 1990),pp.145-55; Ariès,pp.245-58,288-93,747; Stone (1979),pp.135,225-6. Bosola satirizes worldy tombs in *The Duchess of Malfi*,IV.ii.156-161.

"Mercer has noted the close parallels between sculpture and portrait-painting in the period,p.251.

"Gent,p.47; Karl Joseph Höltgen, 'The English Reformation and Some Jacobean Writers on Art', in *Functions of Literature: Essays presented to Erwin Wolff on his Sixtieth birthday*, ed. by Ulrich Broich, Theo Stemmler and Gerd Stratman (Tübingen: Max Neimeyer Verlag, 1984),p.123.

"Gent,p.20.

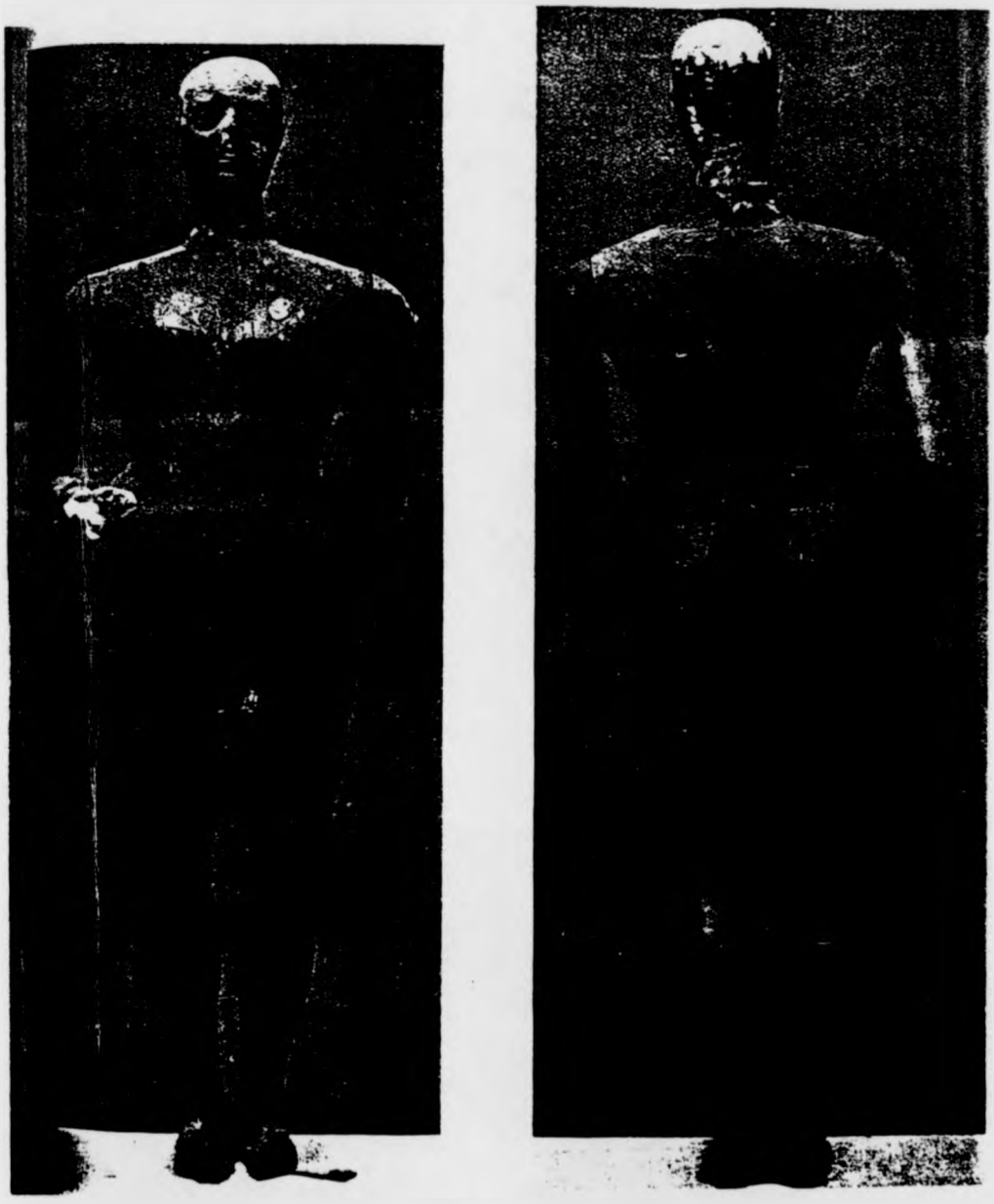
Although the evidence is limited, it seems that the form of the post-Reformation funeral effigy displayed the same kind of non-naturalistic style noted in tomb effigies.

Of the post-Reformation and pre-Stuart funeral effigies, only Mary Tudor's survives. On this occasion the primitive medieval method of carving the body in wood was used but the effigy had jointed arms for convenience in dressing the effigy (figure 61). As far as the head is concerned naturalism certainly does not seem to have been a top priority. It was carved in wood and has been described as a 'poor piece of work' but sufficient to fulfil the functions of funeral effigy, being 'well enough to pass at a distance'."[11] The lack of care lavished on Mary's effigy suggests that in 1558 the funeral organizers may have been uncomfortable with the idolatrous implications of constructing a life-like funeral effigy. This funeral was, however, staged in the turbulent days before Elizabeth's religious policy was clear. The whole form of the obsequies was Catholic indicating that the funeral liturgy and ceremonial had not yet come under official scrutiny."[12]

Nevertheless, in marked contrast to the Mary effigy, the design of the pre-Reformation funeral effigy of her grandfather, Henry VII, reached a high point in naturalism

"Howgrave-Graham (1953),pp.160;168; *Westminster Abbey: The Chapter House, the Pyx Chamber and Treasury, the Undercroft Museum* ([London(?)]: English Heritage, [n. d.]),pp.19-20. For an illustration of this effigy, see Hope,p.555.

"Nichols (1848),pp.182-4; Strype,II,665; Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fol.340.



61. The funeral effigy of Mary I, from W. H. St John Hope, 'On the funeral effigies of the Kings and Queens of England', *Archaeologia*, 40 part 2 (1907),pl.LXIV.

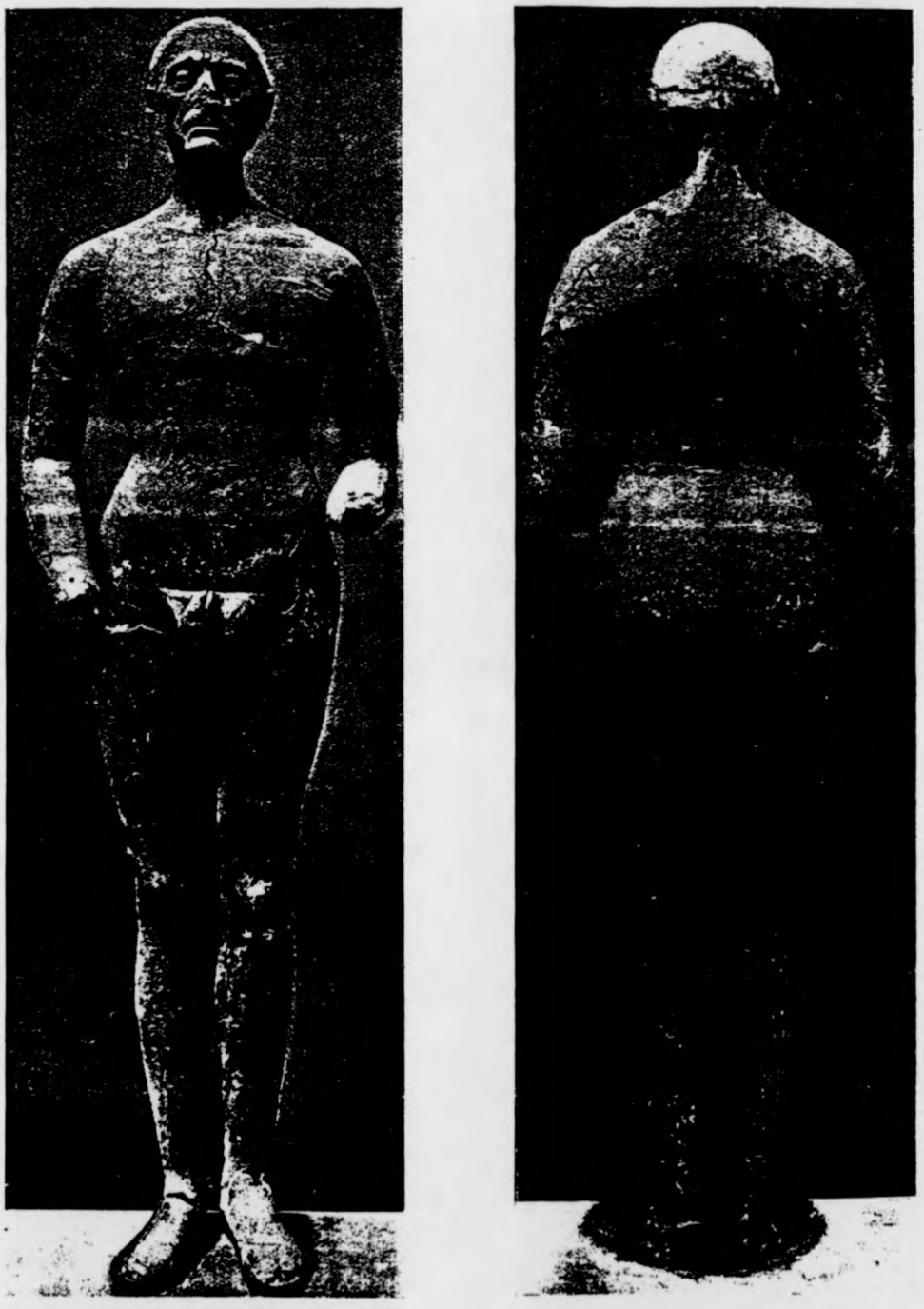
(figure 62). Henry's effigy signalled a significant shift in taste from the earlier medieval effigies, like that of Edward III, which were carved out of a single block of wood. Instead it consisted of a wooden frame, padded with hay and covered with canvas, upon which the figure was modelled in plaster. The head was finely modelled and painted with the skull being left bare for a wig and the hands fashioned to hold an orb and sceptre. The effigy was highly Italianate in conception. For the face a death mask was used and the head is very close to the terracotta portrait in the Victoria & Albert Museum. I disagree with Nigel Llewellyn who says that the makers showed no interest in the late King's personality: for me the features speak the King (figure 63).[91] Henry VII's tomb effigy, carved by Torrigiani, is also an example of realistic portraiture.[92]

There was not to be another funeral effigy until Elizabeth's own obsequies. Unfortunately, Elizabeth's original effigy does not survive. Apart from the wooden legs, the figure was entirely remade in 1760.[93] Some believe that a wooden head, which recently turned up at the London Museum, is that which was carved by Maximilian Colt and painted by John de Critz for the funeral effigy. For a time this head belonged to an

[91]Llewellyn, *Royal Body* (1990),p.229 n.40. The body of Henry VII's funeral effigy was destroyed by flood water at the Abbey during the last war. It does not appear that Henry VIII's effigy survived the sixteenth century and, thus, we have no direct evidence of its construction and appearance.

[92]Stow,p.487; Neill (1985),p.181.

[93]Hope,pp.517-570; L. E. Tanner and J. L. Nevinson, 'On Some Later Funeral Effigies in Westminster Abbey' *Archaeologia*, 85 (1935),169-202 (pp.188-9); *Westminster Abbey*,p.20.



62. The funeral effigy of Henry VII, from W. H. St John Hope, 'On the funeral effigies of the Kings and Queens of England', *Archaeologia*, 40 part 2 (1907),pl.LXI.

63. The reconstituted effigy head of Henry VII, Undercroft Museum, Westminster Abbey.

equestrian figure of Elizabeth on show in various tableaux at the Tower during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The veracity of this claim is, however, impossible to verify."[11] For evidence of the funeral effigy of Elizabeth we must turn to her tomb effigy, drawings of the procession and written accounts made by eye-witnesses.

Although the evidence is limited, there are hints that naturalistic principles were rehabilitated for the royal effigy of Elizabeth. If we accept the link between the design of the tomb and the funeral effigy, then we can assume that the latter shared the realism of the features displayed by the tomb effigy. It is probable that a death mask was used for both."[12] Such an assumption would give us a funeral effigy much closer to the realistic portrayal achieved in Henry VII's effigy than the rough effigy head of Mary Tudor that would 'pass at a distance'. Fortunately, we possess one description of the funeral effigy head made by a visitor to Westminster Abbey in 1725."[13] His testimony supports the theory that the makers of Elizabeth's effigy aimed at realism. He describes it as 'cutt in wood, a little wrinkley her face, though the truest countenance of her face'."[14]

"Olivia Bland, *The Royal Way of Death* (London: Constable, 1986),p.27-8.

"The effigy heads are now held to be finely carved portraits using death mask models. See Howgrave-Graham,pp.465-74. For the earlier view that only Henry VII's effigy involved use of a death mask, see Benkard,pp.28-9.

"The effigy was to be displayed in the Abbey after the funeral. See chapter 7,pp.214-6.

"BL, Additional MS 23069 cited by Tanner and Nevinson,p.189.

There are some indications that the design of Elizabeth's effigy may have gone further towards naturalistic representation than that of her grandfather. Recent detailed research on the effigy of Henry VII has revealed that, although the King was portrayed with eyes open, the colours used to paint his features were intended to represent the pale face of death."[11] In striking contrast, as we have seen, the effigy of Queen Elizabeth was carved in wood, coloured 'so faithfully that she seems alive' and was depicted in the funeral procession drawings with flaming red hair, blue eyes, rouge and reddened lips - she was certainly not coloured to appear dead."

If these suggestions of a shift back towards the naturalism evident in the Henry VII effigy are correct, they would certainly equate with the increased naturalism in tomb sculpture of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[111]

The move towards naturalism was part of a general change in attitudes towards the arts that occurred towards the end of the sixteenth century. After the temporary hiatus imposed by the Reformation, the influence of Italian art theory began, once again, to be felt. Richard Haydocke (c.1570 -1642) has been identified as its main disseminator in Elizabethan and

[11]Josephine A. Darrah, 'The Funeral Effigy of Henry VII at Westminster Abbey', *Conservation* October (1986). The eyes were, however, open, Benkard,p.29.

[11]CSPV,X (1603-7),22; BL, Additional MS 35324 fol.38. See also above,p.149.

[111]Mercer,pp.234,238-9. See chapters 6,p.198 and 9,pp.280-1; and figures 72 and 73.

Jacobean England.[101] His *Tracte of Curious Paintinge, Carvinge and Buildinge* (1598) is a part-translation of Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'Arte* but adapts and accommodates it to the Protestant ethos.

A direct translation of Lomazzo's section on proportion, which Vitruvius calls 'Eurythmy' would read:

> The further importance of this beauty and majesty of the body is seen more clearly in the *divine cult* than in anything else, for it is a marvellous thing how piety, religion and reverence for God and the saints are increased in our minds by the majesty and beauty of sacred images, caused by the presence in them of Eurythmy.

Modifications occur in the Haydocke version:

> But if we shall enter into further consideration of this beauty, it will appeare most evidently, in things appertaining to *Civile dicipline*. For it is strange to consider, what effects of piety, reverence and religion, are stirred up in mens mindes, by meanes of this sutable comelinesse of apte proportion.[102]

The function of art as a *culto divino* in Lomazzo becomes a 'civile discipline' in Haydocke and he suggests that the function of art lies in the maintenance of public order and the establishment of a hierarchy of state. Haydocke's argument mirrors the functional justification of tombs discussed above.[103]

[101]Höltgen,p.120.

[102]M. Jenkins, 'The State Portrait, Its Origins and Evolution', *Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts*, 3 (1947) cited by Strong (1963),pp.35-6; Phillips,pp.119-20; Strong (1987),p.16.

[103]See above,pp.172-4.

Royal Appropriation of Religious Images and Symbolism

The civil justification of utilizing images was, however, like Cecil's 'Civil duty' used to justify the funeral of his wife, largely a question of rhetoric.[114] Representational forms might have temporarily been modified towards non-naturalistic heraldic styles but ultimately they were still images. As Haydocke makes clear, the effects on the mind of the observer of 'civil' images are almost identical to the effects of observing 'sacred' images. The same processes of sublimation lay behind each. The switch in terminology was, in some ways, an equivocation but by defining acceptable modes for the use of images, differentiating them from the old Catholic religious images, the ruling elite was able to exploit the power of iconography.[115]

As far as the funeral effigy is concerned, this can be demonstrated in relation to parallels between its use and the pre-Reformation Christocentric rituals of *Adoratio crucis*, *Depositio crucis*, *Elevatio crucis* and *Quem quaeritis*, which dated from the fifth century. In these ceremonies a cross, sometimes with an image of Christ upon it, was adored by worshippers who crept across the floor to it and kissed it. The Host was then buried in a permanent or portable 'Easter sepulchre' (often an altar tomb in the north wall of the chancel). On Easter Sunday the, following Matins, the Host was raised from the sepulchre in token of the resurrection and carried in a procession to the altar. On route the cross was

[114]Chapter 2,pp.96-7.

[115]Llewellyn, *Royal Body* (1990),pp.219,223; Smuts,p.140.

held up before the congregation to be adored.[116] The link that contemporaries perceived between these rites and funeral obsequies is made clear by the fact that often wealthy parishioners would erect a tomb for themselves which would also serve as the sepulchre, the tomb of Christ. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, these rites were influenced by the institution of the Corpus Christi festival, observed in England from 1318. With the increased emphasis on the Host as the real body of Christ, the practice of reservation and recovery perhaps inevitably became associated with the Easter symbolism of the burial and resurrection of Christ. More than ever the involvement of the funeral effigy in royal obsequies echoed these religious rites.[117]

Perhaps more pointed, however, are the religious connotations of the canopy borne over the funeral effigy in the procession. The canopy was of the same design as those borne over the Host in Corpus Christi and Palm Sunday processions (figure 64).[118]

[116]Sometimes the cross was buried instead of or as well as the Host. Neil C. Brooks, 'The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy', *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, 7 (1921),7-51; E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903),II,138,160,329; E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923; repr. 1961),II,11-36,310-11; Karl Young, 'The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre', *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, 10 (1920),5-130 (pp.102-3); Duffy,pp.23,29-30,109,421,461. Very similar processions took place on Palm Sunday. See Ariès,p.65.

[117]Suffolk examples include John Hopton's tomb at Blythborough and the Clopton tomb at Long Melford. See Duffy,pp.32-3,43.

[118]Dewick,p.120; Duffy,pp.24-38,44,137,493; Harris (1992),pp.71-80. In Paris, up until the sixteenth century, the very same canopy was used in royal and in Corpus Christi processions, Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual and Art in the Renaissance* (Geneva: Librarie Droz, 1986),p.103.

64. 'The Comely Corse': laymen carry the canopy over the Blessed Sacrament.

65. The canopy borne over the effigy of Louis XII (d.1515). Woodcut from *L'Obseque de Louis XII*.

66. The funeral procession of Henry IV (1610), from Francesco Vallegio et Catarin Doini, *Pompe Funerali fatte in Parigi nella morte dell' invitissimo Henrico IIII Re di Francia et Navarra*, after BN Cabinet des Estampes, Hennin XVIII fols 31-5.

The Corpus Christi symbolism of the immortal presence of Christ in the Host paralleled the continued presence of the King's Majesty in the funeral effigy.[109] Use of the canopy may have recalled Corpus Christi symbolism in the minds of some of the older spectators at Elizabeth's funeral since these ceremonies persisted in some locations until 1586 (figures 65 and 66).[110] Even without direct experience, however, the sacred resonance of the canopy would have touched many Englishmen. For many it would have carried associations with Catholicism. The cache of 'monuments of popery' found in a town house by the churchwardens of Scaldwell in 1581 included a sacramental canopy.[111]

Royal ritual thus appropriated religious symbolism in order to confer charisma upon the effigy of the monarch. The liminality of ritual and the ambiguous nature of symbols functioned as a barrier to critical attack.[112] The sacral associations of canopies and effigies were not articulated but nevertheless remained beneath the surface civil justifications of funeral ritual. They attracted and influenced the spectator, impressing upon him the divine sanction of

[109]Comparisons between the carrying of the body of the king at French royal funerals and the Corpus Christi procession were made by a number of fifteenth century chroniclers, Giesey (1960),p.103 n.101,107 n.12. On canopies, see also Bernard Guenée and Françoise Lehoux, *Les Entrées Royales Françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris: Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1968),pp.7-18; Bryant,pp.101-3.

[110]Last performances of the Corpus Christi play cycles were as follows: Chester (1575); York (1568) and Kendal (1586). See Duffy,pp.137,580-2,566; Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages 1300-1600*, 3 vols (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959-81),II part 1 (1963),69-71.

[111]Duffy,p.587.

[112]Introduction,pp.6,10-12.

kingship.[111] Religious symbolism also contributed to the process of sublimation which gained the spectator's aquiesence to the display of royal power. Here we see the beginnings of a *religion royale* built on the understanding that power lies in what is enacted rather than fully-comprehended.

English Awareness of the French Effigy Lying-in-State Ritual

There is a substantial amount of evidence to suggest that the English authorities were well aware of the French ritual effigy lying-in-state ritual that was described in chapter 3. Foreign ambassadors were usually allocated places in the funeral processions of French monarchs. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, English ambassador to France, had been in Paris at the time of the death and funerals of Henry II (1559). He took part in the funeral procession that bore the encoffined body and the effigy from Tournelles to Notre Dame. Further, he reported back to the Elizabeth that the funeral oration and everything connected with the interment would shortly be available in print. While there is no evidence to suggest Throckmorton attended the effigy lying-in-state ritual, his interest and involvement in the remainder of the funeral proceedings makes it highly likely he was aware of its performance.[114] The English publication of an account of the

[111]The religious celebrations for St. Hugh's Day were similarly appropriated for the Queen's Accession Day festivities, Duffy,p.590. See also the canopy borne over Elizabeth in the *Procession Picture* c. 1600, figure 67.

[114]CSPF,I (1558-9),472-7.

67. *Eliza Triumphas*, the marriage portrait of Henry Somerset, Lord Herbert, and Anne Russel. A canopy is borne over the Queen.

funeral also suggests that there was a market for such material in England, even if only at court.

William Cecil, whose son would be closely involved in the organization of Elizabeth's funeral, certainly knew of the arrangements, too. He reported to Sadler that the funeral and proclamation of the new king had been accomplished in the 'accustomed style'.[115]

In 1584 Sir Edward Stafford attended the funeral of Alençon, heir to the French throne and erstwhile proposed marriage-partner for Elizabeth. Stafford reported on the ceremony to Francis Walsingham and his account includes a description 'of the great ceremonies and magnificency of his effigies lying in an abbey at St. Jaques suburbs, and the great honour that was there done to it Friday and Saturday, after their ceremonious manner, by all the world, especially by the Princes and Princesses of France'.[116] Walsingham, like William Cecil, would die before his Queen but could easily have passed on his knowledge of the French funeral ritual to other members of the Council.

The English also had access to the classical sources describing the funerals of Roman emperors that Giesey has identified as providing a model for the expansion of the French effigy ritual at the funeral of Charles IX.[117] The most significant of these was Herodian's account of the

[115]CSPF,I (1558-9),493.

[116]Salisbury III,39.

[117]Giesey (1960),pp.145-154.

funeral of Septimus Severus in 211, a French translation of which was published in 1541. Not long after an English translation of the same account was published in *The Historie of Herodian, a Greeke Author, Treating of the Romayne Emperors* (London, 1550 [?]).[110]

Antiquarians like Sir William Segar seem to have been aware of the French royal funeral form. In his *Honor, Military and Civill* (1602) Segar argues that a forty day period should elapse between death and burial at the funerals of 'Princes and persons of honour', following the model of the Old Testament funeral given in honour Jacob.[111] Under the Tudors, English practice had varied ranging from two weeks for Henry VIII and a month for Edward VI.[112] It is possible that in urging a forty-day period for royal funerals, Segar is alluding to the French funeral rite in which, from 1547, the lying-in-state ritual was conflated with the forty day mourning period, or *quarantaine*.

The English authorities must, then, have been aware of the French effigy lying-in-state ritual in 1603 but it would not be emulated until the funeral of James I twenty-two years

[110]Nicholas Smith, *The History of Herodian, a Greeke Author, Treating of the Romayne Emperors* (London: [n. pub.], [1550 (?)]), IV,lxvi-ii; Giesey (1960),p.147,n.5. See also Tate,I,217 for a 1599 account of the funeral of Sylla.

[111]Genesis 50.3. The Jacob example was not new: Ambrose used it to defend his adoption of the quarantaine for the funeral of Theodosius I in 395 which was probably in reality a piece of political expediency, in deference to the custom of the Eastern churches to celebrate 3rd, 9th and 40th days after death, Giesey (1960),pp.160-2.

[112]Hope,pp.541-2.

later.[121]

Idolatry and Elizabeth's Lying-in-State Ritual

As I have demonstrated the religious associations of the funeral effigy in the procession were distanced. This was not the case with the French lying-in-state ritual, with its act of homage to the funeral effigy. Such a ritual would have been difficult to stage in England in view of Protestant interpretations of the second commandment which stated: 'Thou shall not bow down thy self to them [images], nor serve them: for I the LORD thy God *am* a jealous God'.[122]

Nevertheless the Elizabethan authorities took an ambiguous position as far as paying homage to representations of the sovereign was concerned. As Strong has pointed out, the Anglicans denounced the use of religious images as popish superstition while maintaining the sacred nature of royal portraiture. Homage could be paid to a ruler's sceptre, seal or sword 'without sin'. Thomas Bilson, in his *The True Difference betweene Christian Subiection and Unchristian Rebellion* (1585) argues that homage to royal coats of arms or images which Princes set up 'is accepted as rendred to their owne persons, when they can not otherwise be present in the

[121]See my discussion in chapter 10,pp.304-21.

[122]Exodus 20.5, *The Geneva Bible*. On the debate over idolatry in reformed religion, see Watt,p.132; Aston,pp.391,379-82,393.

place to receive it'.[113] Bilson was aware of the ambiguity of the Anglican position, however, and defined the type of homage that was appropriate to royal images with care. 'The images of Princes may not wel be despised or abused, least it be taken as a signe of a malicious hart against the Prince, but bowing the knee or lifting up the hand to the image of a Prince is flat and inevitable idolatrie'. The Anglican position would inevitably exclude any emulation of the ritual serving of the effigy enacted in the French royal funeral.

At Elizabeth's funeral there is no mention of an effigy in the pre-procession rites but a lying-in-state ritual was staged. More than a month passed between the death of Elizabeth at Richmond and her funeral at Westminster Abbey on 28 April 1603. In the interim her body was taken by night in a black-draped barge from Richmond to Whitehall, attended by a great company of ladies. Privy Councillors were also present on the royal barge, while pensioners and officers of the royal household followed on other barges. At Westminster the coffin lay in state on a black velvet bed in a chamber all hung with mourning.[114]

While at Whitehall, as Lady Anne Clifford, a thirteen-year-old at the time of the funeral, confirms, the encoffined body 'continued a good whil standinge in the Drawinge-chamber, wher it was watched all night by severall Lords and Ladies: with my

[113]Bilson,pp.547-80 (p.561) cited by Strong (1963),pp.39-40 and Phillips,p.120. John Bale similarly argues that reverence may be done to the seal. See H. Christmas, ed., *The Selected Works of John Bale* (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1849),pp.94-99.

[114]Clapham,pp.110-111.

mother sittinge up with it two or three nights: but my Lady would not give me leave to watch by reason I was heald too yonge'.[125] Scaramelli provides the most detailed commentary on the lying-in-state ritual, saying that the Council waited on the dead Queen with the same ceremony and expenditure, 'down to household and table service'.[126]

The continuation of the Queen's household comes close to the French model, but Scaramelli underlines the fact that it was not the effigy but the corpse that was thus honoured. He ridicules the homage paid to the dead Queen, 'as though she were not wrapped in many a fold of cere-cloth, and hid in such a heap of lead, of coffin, of pall, but walking as she used to do at this season, about the alleys of her gardens'.[127]

The lying-in-state of the coffin was itself a traditional ritual originating in the Middle Ages. Initially, display of the embalmed body occurred in specifically religious locations. Edward I (d. 1307) was the first to lie in state for an extended period, perhaps facilitated by improvements in embalming procedure. After his death his corpse was conveyed to the abbey church of Waltham, where it remained from 4th August to the latter end of October.[128]

[125]Sackville-West,pp.4-5.

[126]Given the involvement of the court ladies in the lying-in-state ritual, it is unsurprising that they were not available to attend on Queen Anne until after the funeral, CSPD,VIII,3. See above,p.161.

[127]CSPV,X (1603-7),22.

[128]Hope,p.522;528. Henry IV has been described lying-in-state at Westminster, but with no evidence given, ibid.,p.535. On Edward IV, see *Archeaologia* I (edn. 1777),p.348-9. See also W. J. White, 'Changing Burial Practice in Late Medieval

It is with the first Tudor monarch, Henry VII, that we have evidence of the lying-in-state ritual being formalized into various stages and including periods of display in secular locations. Henry died at Richmond on 21 April 1509. The Council and friars attended on the King's body until a hearse had been set up in the chapel and the great chamber and chapel had been hung with black.[129]

> After thaᵗ all thinge necessary for the enterement & funerall pomp of yᵉ late kinge were sumptuously prepared and dodeᵗ / yᵉ corps of yᵉ said defunct was brought owt of his chamber / where he deceased into his grete chamber where he rested iij daysᵉ / & every day had dirige & was solempnely song / wᵗ a prelate mytred / & so other iij days in the hall & other iij days in yᵉ chapell wᵗ lyke service & morners gyving their attendaunce / and in every place, was a herce garnessed wᵗ banners scochines & pencelles.[130]

It is clear here that the lying-in-state of the body was originally associated with intercessionary prayers for the soul of the dead king.

During the whole time that the body was at Richmond, 'ther was contynually kept a Right sumptuous household [with] lords and [other] officiers as they did in the kings lyvyng'.[131] With Henry VII, then, we also have clear evidence of the continuation of the Kings' household at the death of the monarch.

The interesting medieval ritual practice of serving meals to

England', *The Ricardian*, vol.4 no.63 (1978),23-30 (p.28).

[129]BL, Additional MS 4531 fol.53.

[130]CA, I Series MS XI fol.82*b*.

[131]BL, Additional MS 45131 fol.53.

the empty chair of the monarch may have served as precedents for the serving of the coffin. This practice survived at least until 1599 when Thomas Platter witnessed it at Nonsuch Palace. On this occasion, 'the long table had been fully laid and served and the same obeisance and honours performed as the queen herself had sat there'. The Queen herself, who was in residence, ate privately in her apartment.[111] In late sixteenth century England homage to an empty chair was acceptable but homage to an image was not.

[111]Thomas Platter, *Travels in England* (1599), ed. by C. Williams (London: [n. pub.], 1937),pp.194-5.

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M.A. (Distinction)

QUALIFICATION: DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Introduction

The shift in attitude towards the arts at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, which was noted at the end of the last chapter, had a profound impact on funeral ritual. In this chapter I outline the cultural developments which took place in James's reign and discuss the interaction between the arts and changing religious policy. The discussion is necessarily brief and I concentrate on establishing those cultural changes which have the greatest implications for funeral rituals. A grasp of these cultural conditions is a necessary preliminary to understanding the Stuart funerals which will be analysed in subsequent chapters.

Cultural Developments under James and Charles

The end of the war with Spain, a country with a dominant influence in Europe, meant that the continental influences that had begun to be felt towards the end of Elizabeth's reign were able to flourish. European travel became easier and Italy, Flanders and Spain were opened up to a relatively large number of aristocratic tourists. This facilitated the collection of continental art works and allowed continental, especially Italian, ideas about the status of art to filter into England. In addition, embassies were re-established in

Brussels, Madrid, Venice and Florence after a gap of nearly four decades. Among their other functions, embassies provided a convenient agency for art collectors. When Carleton went to Venice as ambassador in December 1610 he undertook to acquire paintings for Prince Henry.

Gradually, the new attitudes towards art and its collection became established. Limited art collection had taken place under Elizabeth. Leicester had acquired several Italian paintings as early as the 1580s and William Cecil had agents collecting specimens of statuary for him from Venice and probably elsewhere. In the early years of James's reign, the Earl of Shrewsbury and Queen Anne were both collecting paintings. It was only after 1610 however, that a small coterie of courtiers began collecting art on a larger scale. By the late 1610s leading courtiers were expected to profess an interest in the arts. In this period Buckingham retained his own architect and art expert, Balthazar Gerbier, who collected art treasures on his behalf in Europe over the next five years. When Rubens came to England in 1629 he admired the magnificence of English art collections.[1]

Perhaps the leading figure promoting cultural change was James's eldest son, Prince Henry Stuart. James established an independent household for Prince Henry at Oatlands on their arrival in England. The Prince's court soon grew in size. In 1607 Sir Thomas Chaloner, the Prince's Chamberlain, called it a 'great court' and a few years later Foscarini described it

[1]DNB; Parry (1981),pp.115,126; Mercer,p.248; Smuts,pp.119-20.

as an 'academy of young nobles'.[1]

Financial independence gave the Prince the freedom to pursue his own interests. Cornwallis reports that the Prince 'greatly delighted in all kinds of rare inventions and arts [...] in limming and painting, carving, in all sorts of excellent and rare Pictures, which he had brought unto him from all countries'.[3] Of particular significance for the rehabilitation of effigial images was Henry's request for a collection of fifteen bronze statues from Tuscany (figure 68). They were to be part of a gift from Cosimo II in connection with the marriage negotiations of 1611. These statues were probably the first Italian sculpture to reach England since the break with Rome. Art for its own sake was beginning to penetrate into Jacobean England and the impetus was coming from the monarchy.[4]

Henry's court was also a centre for art patronage. This is a large subject and I wish just to point out one or two of the more significant implications for the development of sculpture and classical architecture.

Nobles attracted to the vibrant court of Prince Henry included

[1]Parry (1981),p.67; Smuts,p.119; CSPV,*XII* (1610-13),464; G. P. V. Akrigg, *Jacobean Pageant or The Court of King James I* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962),p.132.

[3]Sir Charles Cornwallis, *The Life and Death of Our Late Most Incomparable and Heroique Prince, Henry, Prince of Wales: A Prince (for Valour and Vertue) fit to be Imitated in Succeeding Times* (London: [n. pub.], 1641),pp.100-101; Nichols (1828),II,489;

[4]Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales: England's Lost Renaissance* ([London (?)]: Thames & Hudson, 1986),pp.195-6; Mercer,pp.10-11.

(a) Astronomia

(b) La Fortuna

(c) Nessus and Deianeira

(d) Hercules and the Centaur

68. Prince Henry Stuart's collection of bronzes after Giovanni da Bologna presented by Cosimo II in 1611.

(e) Shepherd with Bagpipes

(f) Hercules with his Club

68. Prince Henry Stuart's collection of bronzes by Pietro Tacca presented by Cosimo II in 1611.

Northampton, Pembroke, Arundel and Lennox.[5] The Earl of Arundel, Thomas Howard (1585-1646), played a particularly prominent role in initiating cultural change. He sent agents all over Europe, even dispatching one to the Ottoman Empire to hunt for Greek antiquities and assembled England's first collection of ancient statues, now in the Ashmolean museum.[6] Peacham acknowledges in his *Compleat Gentleman* that Arundel was responsible for introducing a taste for classical statuary into England.[7] Arundel, who would be a member of the commission organising James's funeral, had a strong interest in funeral symbolism and architecture. In his will, written in 1617, Arundel requested the removal of his father's body from the Tower and his grandmother's body from Framlingham, both to be relocated at Arundel castle. He further specified: 'I desire that the Tombs may be made plain without painting or gilding but either in good Marble or Brass and that my most approved good friend Mr Inigo Jones may order the designs of them'. In 1625 the coffin of Philip Howard, 1st Earl of Arundel, was reinterred in the Fitzalan Chapel at Arundel castle but Arundel's grandmother, Lady Mary Fitzalan, remained at Framlingham and the tombs were never built.[8]

In 1610 Inigo Jones was appointed by Prince Henry as Surveyor

[5]Parry (1981),p.69; Strong (1986),pp.26-44.

[6]See David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (London: Yale University Press, 1985),p.63; Smuts,p.119. Daniel Mytens portrait of Arundel shows him seated at the entrance to his statue gallery. See figure 69. The painting hangs in Arundel Castle, Sussex, England.

[7]Mercer,pp.247-8,255; Parry (1981),p.113; Sharpe (1979),p.102.

[8]Howarth,p.105.

69. Daniel Mytens, *Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, National Gallery (hangs in Arundel Castle, Sussex). Howard points to the classical statues housed in the gallery designed by Inigo Jones at Arundel House.

of Works. It is difficult to associate Jones with any work for the Prince, who died just two years later, but his position was instrumental in forging his early relationship with Arundel with whom he travelled in Germany and Italy in 1613-4. The Earl's passion for classical statuary dates from this period.[9] Jones did not leave England again after 1614 but his experience, which included the Roman antique; the mannerism of Florence and Bologna; Palladio and Scamozzi, was sufficient to give impetus to the development of classical architecture in England.[10] In the 1610s Jones and a few other court architects began to develop comprehensive classical styles, rejecting the ornateness of earlier architecture in favour of a more sober and dignified form. Jones was to be Surveyor to James I (1615-25).[11]

It was in the realm of monumental architecture that most examples of Italianate influence occurred. Early on Jones designed a tomb for the wife of Sir Rowland Cotton (d. 1608) which still stands in the church of St. Chad, Norton-in-Hales, Shropshire (figure 70). He probably worked from a symbolic programme drawn up by the Hebrew scholar, Hugh Broughton (1544-1611). The sarcophagus is unlike anything else in England of that period being of a classical type with harpies

[9]John Harris and Gordon Higgott, *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1989),pp.15-6; Howarth,p.97. It was Jones who designed the gallery at Arundel House in which the Earl's statues were displayed, see figure 69.

[10]Jones was not, however, the first to look towards classical architecture as the arches of the 1604 Royal Entry illustrate.

[11]Harris and Higgott,pp.16,62-3; Smuts,pp.98-9,104-6.

70. Inigo Jones's elevation/perspective of a monument to Lady Cotton in St. Chad's Church, Norton-in-Hales, Shropshire (c.1610).

at the corners.[11] Nicholas Stone also began to look to classical models in his tomb design. He and his master Isaac James were responsible for designing a tomb commissioned by Arundel for Northampton (d.1614) (figure 71). The figures of the four Cardinal virtues that stand at the corners of this tomb's canopy, represent perhaps the earliest English response to the Arundel marbles. Tomb sculpture was beginning to demonstrate increased naturalism and an enhanced emotional content (figures 72 and 73).[13]

Prince Charles was to inherit the art collections of his brother and Prince Henry's example helped to form his aesthetic taste. His trip to Madrid in 1623 gave him direct experience of a sophisticated European court where he saw the greatest royal art collection in Europe. His visit fuelled a desire to compete against his foreign rivals, Philip IV and Louis XIII, in the realm of royal display.[14] One example of Charles's art-collecting ambitions is his acquisition of a collection of antique statues from the Duke of Mantua to be housed in a gallery completed at St. James's Palace in 1630.[15]

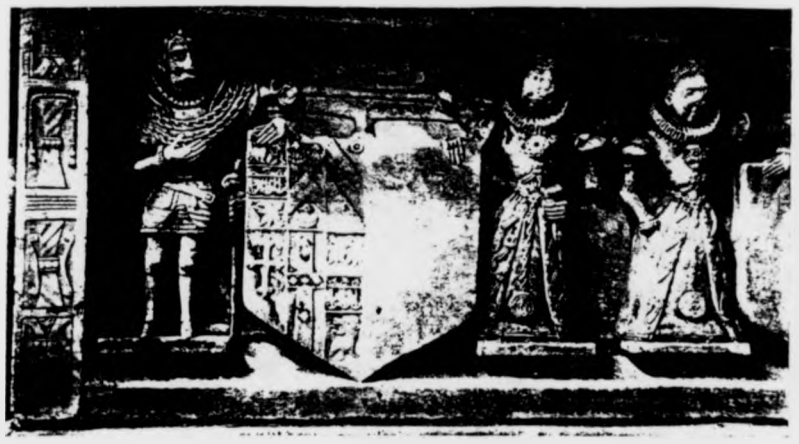
[11]Interestingly a variant of this tomb appeared as Merlin's tomb at the opening of the *Barriers*. See Strong (1986),pp.135-6,149; Harris and Higgot,pp.42-3.

[13]Howarth,p.35; Stone (1979),p.225; Mercer,pp.237-51; Margaret Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain 1530 to 1830*, revised by John Physick (London: Penguin Books, 1964; repr. 1988),p.63; Llewellyn (1991),p.122. On Van Dyck and the development of naturalistic representations of the human form under Charles, see Parry (1981),pp.219-220.

[14]On the court of Philip IV, see John H. Elliott, 'Philip IV of Spain: Prisoner of Ceremony', in *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty, 1400-1800*, ed. by A. G. Dickens (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977),pp.169-89.

[15]Smuts,p.120; Harris and Higgott,p.140.

71. The tomb of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton (1638), Arundel Castle. Sculptor, Henry Lilly.



72. Detail of a tomb of Thomas Fermour (d.1580), Somerton, Oxfordshire. The stiff figures surrounding the coat of arms express no emotion. Sculptor, Richard and Gabriel Royley.

73. Detail of the monument for the Catholic Sir Thomas Hawkins, Boughton-under-Blean, Kent. The weeping daughters of the defunct express family loss. Sculptor, Epiphanius Evesham.

Charles was surrounded by people with direct experience of continental court culture. Henrietta Maria came from the cultured French court and brought Parisian aristic values with her. Nearly all the leaders of Charles's court had visited the continent. Among those who were members of the Privy Council in the late 1620s were Sir Francis Cottington who had lived at the English embassy in Madrid for more than a decade, the Earls of Holland and Carlisle who had substantial diplomatic experience, and Arundel.[16]

Malcolm Smuts has traced the personal way in which Charles shaped court culture partly through the patronage of leading figures such as Daniel Mytens and Inigo Jones. Gradually there developed a more cohesive and unified court culture than had ever existed under James. It is important to remember, however, that the cultural innovations of James's reign did not instantly displace the court culture of the late sixteenth century. In the early 1620s there remained an eclectic cultural atmosphere in which, as Smuts puts it, 'prodigy house architecture, neo-chivalric pageantry, and verse and costume portraiture in the tradition of Hilliard survived side by side with newer forms, creating a cultural mosaic of bewildering diversity'.[17]

[16]Smuts,p.185.

[17]Smuts,pp.120,132,183.

Religion and Art

For many Englishmen the increasing influence of Italian and antique culture was bound up with a growing tendency to regard art and religion as separate realms of human experience. The publication of a growing number of works on matters relating to continental art and travel promoted a relaxation of attitude towards Catholic countries and a segregation of matters artistic from matters religious.[10]

Some, however, endeavoured to recover art for Protestants, building on Richard Haydocke's civil justifications for art in his translations of Lomazzo, as described in chapter 5.[11] Sir Robert Dallington (1561-1637), Gentleman of the Privy Chamber at Prince Henry's court, produced two travel guidebooks: *The View of France* (1604) and *A Survey of Tuscany* (1605). His writings reflect a key aspect of the aesthetic culture of Henry Stuart's court: the combination of the culture of Medicean Florence and Henrician Paris with a strong adherence to Protestantism. Henry Peacham similarly made an important contribution to the Protestant justification of art in his *The Arte of Drawing* (1606), arguing the case for a Biblical justification of art while still rejecting any use of images to represent the Trinity.

During James's reign a significant number of men with

[10]See Stoye, John, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667, their Influence in English Society and Politics* (London: Cape, 1952); Höltgen,p.133.

[11]See chapter 5,pp.180-1. Inigo Jones annotated Lomazzo c.1614. See Harrison and Higgott,p.54.

Protestant allegiances became deeply involved in the world of art. Henry Wotton returned from more than a decade of service at the Embassy in Venice to write the first book on architecture by an Englishman since 1553, *The Elements of Architecture* (London, 1624).[10] Sir Dudley Carleton, who served as a diplomat in both Brussels and Venice, put together a large collection of statues that he exchanged for paintings from the personal collection of Rubens in 1620. Both men were Calvinists who might have been expected to repudiate such 'images'.[11]

Wotton had a very keen perception of the functional value of art for the state. Commenting on the functions of the statuary that 'strewed' the highways of ancient Athens and Rome, he says they were, 'not a bare transitory Entertainment of the Eye, or onely a gentle deception of Time, to the Travailer: But had also a secret and strong Influence, even unto the advancement of the Monarchie, by continuall representation of vertuous examples; so as in that point ART becomes a piece of state'.[11]

For some, however, the relationship between religion and art remained problematic and for significant numbers the court of Charles I functioned as a paradigm of the inevitable and dangerous link between the two. It is not difficult to see why many Calvinists perceived a connection between royal taste

[10]Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (London: [n. pub.], 1624); Höltgen,pp.128,133; Parry (1981),pp.xi,81; Smuts,p.118; Stoye, pp.133-74.

[11]Smuts,pp.118,186. See also Tyacke,p.89.

[11]Wotton,p.106.

and a suspect religious proclivity. Charles and Henrietta commissioned work from the sculptor Bernini, perhaps the greatest sculptor of his time but effectively under the patronage of the Papacy. Such commissions gave rise to resentment. How could the King tolerate Catholicism for the sake of *objects d'art*[11]. William Prynne argued that works of art were being used by the Vatican as bait to lure Charles into Catholicism and there is some evidence that the Papacy allowed Bernini to accept his commission for those very reasons. As Strong has demonstrated, under Charles I the arts as cultivated at court were to be fatally linked with concessions to Catholicism and with England turning its back on its Protestant allies in Europe.[14]

Jacobean Religious Policy and the Rise of Arminianism

On his accession James embraced the Church of England largely because it suited his concept of kingship. The English Bishops were Erastian, accepting the supremacy of the State in ecclesiastical affairs, and James approved of the ritual of the English church, probably because it exalted the monarch and enhanced his divine status. He declared himself uncontentious in matters of ritual, in the belief that participation in religious ceremony was a matter of choice. Confrontation soon came, however, as the Calvinist contingent

[11]Arundel and Buckingham were both collecting the sort of Italian and Flemish artists who were committedly Catholic, Lockyer,p.297.

[14]Parry (1981),pp.223-4; Strong (1986),p.219.

at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604 was dominated by an extreme group that rejected ritual.[15] James was unsympathetic and reacted in an antagonistic manner, declaring that he would have one religion in 'substance and ceremony'. In his post-conference policy, James sought to impose conformity on the Church of England, taking a tough line with dissident Calvinists. A crucial element of his strategy was the creation of the one Authorised Version of the Bible (1611) for uniform use.[16]

This policy of enforcing conformity in the Church rapidly led to Calvinist disillusionment with their new King and gave the lie to earlier hopes that he would favour their cause. James soon relaxed his position and required only occasional conformity from clergymen who subscribed to the legality of the Prayer Book and the bishops. However, the Calvinists found further fuel for their disappointment with the King because he was similarly tolerant of Catholics. They criticized him severely for apparent leniency towards papists.[17] Prior to his accession, James had pragmatically cultivated all religious groups, including the English Catholics, believing that their support would enhance his hold on the succession. It seems that the Catholics did not expect James's conversion but did anticipate that he would grant them toleration in religion, in line with the assurances he had

[15]A stand was made against the ritual use of the cross in baptism.

[16]Wilson,pp.203-6,217; Parry (1981),p.326.

[17]Parry (1981),p.230; Tyacke,p.185; Lockyer,p.288.

given those who had visited his court in Scotland.[18]

There were some 40,000 Catholics in England when James came to the throne. Leniency was displayed towards them from the beginning of the reign and soon their numbers began to increase.[19] After the Gunpowder Plot crisis James sharpened the focus of his domestic policy towards Catholics, making a clear distinction between lay Catholics, who would profess loyalty to the Crown, and priests, especially Jesuits. Harsher measures were adopted against the latter but the earlier indulgent attitude was maintained towards Catholic laymen who would take the Oath of Allegiance (1606). Political allegiance brought relative freedom in religion and many took advantage of James's tolerant attitude towards religious ceremony.[20] James endeavoured to separate religion and government.

For many, however, such a division was inconceivable. For them the perception of laxity was compounded by the presence of Catholics and their sympathizers amongst prominent members

[18]See James's pre-accession correspondence with the Earl of Northampton in which he had written, 'As for the Catholics; I will neither persecute any that will be quiet and give but an outward obedience to the law, neither will I spare to advance any of them that will by good service worthily deserve it'. See Willson,p.148-9; McIlwain,p.xlix; Akrigg (1984),p.207; Lockyer,p.281.

[19]Willson,pp.219-222; Lockyer,pp.281-3. See also Stow, *Preface*.

[20]McIlwain,p.liii; Willson,pp.197-200,228,242,269; Lockyer,pp.282-3; McClure,II,490-525. The oath confirmed the subordination of matters religious to matters of state, placing the rights of the King above those of the Pope. In the field of international politics James took a strong stand against Catholicism and published many writings, in part to defend the oath.

of the court. The Queen herself had refused to take part in Anglican communion at her coronation, a very public statement, and her Catholicism was always a source of embarrassement and annoyance to the King. The Privy Council included men like the Catholic Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who was sympathetic to Catholic recusants. Both were actively hostile towards Calvinism.[11] Even Robert Cecil leaned towards Catholicism, emphasizing the sacraments in his will (1612). From 1603, the inner core of James's Privy Council, at the very least sympathized with Catholicism.[12]

James's court was often subject to comparison with that of his eldest son, Prince Henry, whose court had a strong Protestant bias. Prayers were said twice a day in Henry's household and attendance at sermons was obligatory. Daniel Price was to say of Prince Henry that 'he hated *Poperie* with a perfect hate' in a sermon preached in 1613 on the anniversary of the Prince's death. Henry had a great antipathy for the crypto-Catholic Howards. Thomas Howard, the Earl of Arundel was, of course, an exception. He displayed no overt Catholic sympathies and took part in court tilts; thereby aligning himself with the Protestant chivalric ideal propagated by Prince Henry and his supporters. (Arundel entered the Church of England on 25/12/1625.) Roy Strong has even speculated that had Prince Henry survived there would have been no suspicion that Italianate artistic culture was a vehicle for 'covert

[11]Willson,pp.178,221,156.

[12]William Cecil had also been anti-Calvinist, Tyacke,p.38; Willson,pp.176-8.

Catholicism or indeed incipient Laudian Anglicanism'.[13]

Ironically, James's own religious beliefs were in line with orthodox Calvinism as far as matters of predestination were concerned and for most of James's reign Calvinism enjoyed greater royal favour than under Elizabeth. Calvinists, such as George Abbot (1562-1633), Archbishop from (1611-27), and James Montagu (1568?-1618), Bishop of Winchester (1616-18) and James's personal chaplain, dominated Church government until late in the reign.[14] Both men exerted a strong Calvinist influence on James's theological position but also supported the divine right of kings.[15]

One result of the Calvinist grip on the Church was a pressure on the emergent Arminian opposition to define itself.[16] While relations with Spain had been poor, it had been easy to see England as an homogenous religious entity: the elect nation of Protestants. In the 1590s, however, as the international situation relaxed, Calvinism became more vulnerable to internal splits. Arminianism began to exert an influence in England under Bishop John Overall, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1595, but the spread of Arminian ideas was held in check by Whitgift's approval of the Calvinist Lambeth Articles in the same year. William Laud (1573-1645) did not come out against Calvinism until 1615 in

[13]Strong (1986),pp.17,52-4; Parry (1981),p.115.

[14]Abbot technically remained Archbishop until his death in 1633 but his powers were curtailed in 1627.

[15]Tyacke,pp.21,25,28,41; Sommerville,p.208.

[16]Arminianism derived its name from the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius.

a Shrove Sunday sermon at Oxford.[37]

The controversial heart of Laud's theological position was, in line with Arminianism, to elevate the role of the sacraments and the grace which they conferred, effectively supplanting the grace of predestination. Alongside his Arminian doctrine, Laud actively promoted the re-ceremonialization of the Church, aiming at what he called 'the Beauty of Holiness' through a revival of liturgical practices inherited from the medieval church.[38]

The ambiguity of Elizabethan policies on church interiors and ritual had left the way open for the re-ceremonialization of the Church of England.[39] Most of the alterations to church interiors would come in the 1630s. The 1610s and 1620s were a period of struggle and under the Calvinist Archbishop Abbot, there were frequent confrontations over ceremonies and clerical vestments, as well as ecclesiastical government. Richard Neile (1562-1640), Archbishop of York, and Laud began, however, to make significant changes, moving communion tables back to the altar position and introducing decorative sacramental props like the communion chalice at St. John's

[37]Tyacke,pp.4-7,35-6,49,62-7,70. On Laud's debt to Richard Hooker, see Parry (1981),p.246. Laud became Bishop of St. David's in 1621, Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1626 and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633.

[38]Sommerville sees the emphasis on ceremonies at the expense of preaching as an arbitrary result of Arminian sacramentalism, p.220. Tyacke brings the two plausibly together, however, focusing on church furniture. In the 1630s, during the ascendancy of Arminianism, altars and fonts came to dominate church interiors, illustrating the way in which sacramental grace was replacing the grace of predestination,pp.7,176.

[39]See chapter 2,pp.65-8.

74. The 'Good Shepherd' chalice (c.1615), St. John's College, Oxford.

College, Oxford (figure 74).[40]

As the St. John's chalice illustrates, the process of re-ceremonialis-ation involved a re-legitimization of the religious image. There are other Jacobean examples of art being reintroduced into church settings. In 1621 Lord Maynard built a private chapel in his family home, Easton Lodge, in which the painted glass featured a picture of Christ's crucifixion. Spiritual symbolism began to reappear in more public locations, such as on tombs in parish churches, as well. The tomb of Edmund West at Marsworth, Bucks (c.1618), sculpted by Epiphanius Evesham, is full of religious images including a Risen Christ.[41] By the end of James's reign the changing attitude to art and the Laudian programme of liturgical enrichment had proceeded to the point where John Cleland could remark on 'the speaking power of pictures' (1626).[42] For many, however, religious images remained taboo. Thomas Warmstry, one of the clerks for the Worcester diocese, reviewed the changes of the 1630s and attacked the new 'altars' and 'images', complaining that the 'preaching of the word is discouraged' and 'pictures brought in'.[43]

[40]Tyacke,pp.71,116-8,199,208. The chalice dates from 1615 when Laud was President. Richard Neile had been Robert Cecil's chaplain and went on to become the 'organising genius of English Arminianism'. See Tyacke,p.12; Smuts,p.220.

[41]Mercer,pp.9,244-6. See also Colvin,p.257; Parry (1981),p.250.

[42]Collinson (1988),p.120. For a discussion of the poetry of George Herbert and the pre-Laudian revival of ceremony and ritual, see Parry (1981),pp.243-5.

[43]Warmstry *Convocation Speech*,pp.2,5-6,10,13-5 cited by Tyacke,p.242.

Counter-Reformation attitudes helped to promote the re-legitimization of the religious image in England. Puritans assiduously avoided images, their meditations, diaries and sermons rarely including any visual detail. The Catholic Church, however, actively encouraged the development of the visual imagination as an aid to piety. Laud similarly argued that sensual experience played an essential role in shaping the soul to receive grace.[10]

James maintained his anti-Arminian position until towards the end of his reign, making a stand, for example, against the Dutch Arminians at the Synod of Dort in 1618.[11] There was, however, a radical shift in James's religious position from mid-1622. Political considerations were the root cause. The outbreak of the Thirty Years War in 1618 and the pursuit of a Spanish marriage for Charles pushed James away from the Calvinists who largely adopted an anti-Spanish policy. He became more sympathetic to Neile and Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester (1555-1626), and more concessions were made to Catholics.[12]

The ascent of the Arminians was signalled in various ways. Andrewes was promoted to Winchester in 1618 and Bishop Montaigne to London in 1621. Similarly, William Lucy preached an Arminian sermon at Cambridge in 1622 and by 1623 both

[10]Smuts,pp.229,234; H. Outram Evenett, *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968),p.48.

[11]Tyacke,pp.45,89,146.

[12]Lockyer,pp.290-6: Sommerville,p.218; Tyacke,pp.103-4.

universities had shifted markedly towards Arminianism.[47]

Charles, Arminianism and the Development of a Ceremonial *Religion Royale*

Charles demonstrated an affinity with the Arminians well before his accession. Two Arminian chaplains accompanied him on his marriage-negotiation trip to Spain in 1623. One was Matthew Wren who reported to Andrewes, Neile and Laud that the King's judgement was 'very right'.[48] Once Charles was King, the Arminian influence fast took hold of the centre of power. Laud was chosen by Charles to preach at the opening of Parliament in 1625 and 1626 and to draw up the coronation service in February 1626. With the Arminian ascendancy came the Calvinists' fall. The Calvinist element was virtually excluded from the committees appointed over the next few months and Abbot was sequestered from his ecclesiastical jurisdiction in 1627.[49]

Arminianism suited the Stuart vision of kingship and therein lay its success. There was a symbiotic relationship between Charles's support of Laud's ecclesiastical innovations and

[47]Tyacke,pp.46-7,75-6,103,114,124-5,151,177,225. Tyacke also comments on the publication of the anti-Calvinist writings of Richard Montagu, who published *A New Gagg for an Old Goose* in 1624, and William Prynne.

[48]Lockyer,p.307.

[49]Lockyer,p.311; Tyacke,pp.8,166-7. See also W. Scott and J. Bliss eds., *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God William Laud*, 7 vols (Oxford: [n. pub], 1847-60),VI,245-6.

Laud's active defence of divine right kingship. Arminian theology was in harmony with the idea that the royal prerogative was derived from eternal principles and its exponents dismissed as blasphemous attempts to argue that kings arose from historical causes.[50] The overall result was the formation of what might be termed a religion of monarchy: 'in the 1620s and 1630s the court's Arminian theology and sensual approach to religious mysteries began to color the political theology of loyalist clergy, who treated the king, in a very literal way, as the living image of God on earth'.[51] In 1609 James himself had declared before Parliament that, 'Kings are justly called Gods for they exercise a manner of resemblance of Divine power upon earth: if you will consider the attributes to God, you shall see how they agree in the person of a King'.[52]

Royal authority was described by contemporaries as a tangible projection of God's majesty. Matthew Wren, royal chaplain, preached: 'If any man say I fear God and feareth not the *King*, he is a liar [...] It is impossible for him that feareth not the King, whom he hath seen, to fear God, whom he hath not seen [...] Because the Image of God [...] is upon Kings'.[53] Such rhetoric helped to blur the distinction between sacred and profane, expanding the liminal space in which royal ceremonial operated and facilitating the development of a

[50]Sommerville,pp.45,193; Smuts,pp.231-3.

[51]Smuts,p.230; Parry (1981),p.26.

[52]McIlwain,p.307.

[53]M. Wren, *A Sermon Preached Before His Majesty* (Cambridge, 1627),p.25, cited by Smuts,p.235. Similarly, see Isaac Bargrave's 1627 sermon, cited by ibid.,p.235.

religion royale. In Charles's reign the power of the king and the visual splendour which surrounded him were mutually dependent, as will be demonstrated in my discussion of James's funeral ceremony.

Catholicism was also set to benefit from the change in reign. Initially some Catholics feared that there would be a clamp down on their religious freedoms in conjunction with the aggressive policy towards Spain that Charles and Buckingham pursued at the beginning of the reign. After the collapse of the Cadiz expedition, the attitude towards Spain relaxed. Despite his initial rift with Spain, Charles appointed some Catholics and crypto-Catholics to power, fuelling Calvinist suspicions of a Catholic conspiracy theory and the widespread fear that an increased toleration of Catholics would follow his accession.[11] Francis Cottington, for example, was now secretary to Prince Charles and would later become Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was widely assumed to be sympathetic towards Catholicism.[11] Charles's French Queen also provided a centre of Catholic activity at court. Her household included a Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy presided over by a bishop. By the mid-1630s Catholicism was to have become fashionable at court and Charles became the first monarch since Mary Tudor to welcome a papal envoy to his court.[11]

Charles's own attitudes facilitated Catholic influence. He

[11]Lockyer,pp.25-6.

[11]Conrad Russell, *The Crisis of Parliaments: English History 1509-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971; repr. 1984),pp.310-11; Lockyer,pp.289-90.

[11]Lockyer,pp.297-8; Smuts,pp.2,8,226-7.

shared his father's hopes for the reunion of Christian churches. In the 1630s the court clergy would argue quite openly for eventual reconciliation with Catholicism and introduced Catholic devotional practices into the Chapel Royal. This led to fears that the King himself would convert, following the earlier French example of Henry IV. In this context Calvinist discomfort with the toleration of Catholic ritual and art is easier to understand.

Throughout the period considered, early Stuart religious policies gave out signals that would have been confusing to many, particularly those who did not accept the separation of religion and politics.

PLAYING WITH DEATH: THE EXPLOITATION AND SUBVERSION OF FUNERAL RITUAL (1603-1625)

In this chapter I analyse James's post-funeral exploitation of the tomb effigies of the two dead Queens whose funerals have already been discussed: Elizabeth I and Mary Queen of Scots. In the case of Elizabeth the funeral effigy was also utilized in the programme of propaganda promoting the new Stuart King. The erection of a Westminster tomb for Mary led James into staging a second funeral for his mother. James's manipulation of both the effigies and this funeral are discussed in terms of the changing religious and cultural conditions described in the preceding chapter. The section closes with a discussion of the more general subversion of traditional heraldic funerals during the Jacobean period and considers, among other factors, the ways in which royal example may have contributed to the alterations in funeral ritual practice.

Elizabeth's Funeral Effigy

Once Elizabeth's obsequies were over her funeral effigy remained lying in its hearse in Westminster Abbey for a month.[1] Subsequently it is reasonable to assume that the effigy joined others surviving from earlier royal funerals, which were kept at Westminster Abbey. We have clear evidence that this occurred at the funeral of Elizabeth of York. Once the offering and the sermon were over, 'the Ladyes departed /

[1]CSPV,X (1603-7),22.

after whos departyng the Image w[t] the crowne & the riche robes were had to a secret place by St. Edwarde Shryne', and then the body was interred.[2] Similarly, at the funeral of Henry VIII, the effigy was taken into the vestry by six knights before the coffin was lowered into its vault.[3]

It is not clear when the Westminster effigies first went on display to the public. The first Keeper of the Monuments was appointed in 1593 when the Abbey was under the auspices of Dean Gabriel Goodman between 1561 and 1601. Thomas Platter refers only to the tombs in the Henry VII chapel and makes no mention of any funeral effigies.[4] When Prince Henry Stuart's effigy went on display in 1612 it was placed `amongst the Representations of the Kings and Queenes his famous predecessors, where it remaineth for ever to be seene.'[5] It is possible that the display of the effigies was initiated by James. Such a deliberate transposition of the usual function of the funeral effigy would constitute an example of what Sally Moore calls situational adjustment.[6]

[1]CA, I Series MS XI fol.31.

[2]CA, Briscoe MS II fol.314; Hope,p.541. Henry VIII's effigy does not survive.

[4]Platter,p.178; Stanley (1869),p.xxxix.

[5]Nichols (1828),II,503. The term 'representations' in this context refers to funeral effigies. See chapter 4,pp.140-1. Prince Henry's effigy was in fact wilfully outraged and robbed of its rich robes only three years after being placed in the Abbey chapel. See CSPD,IX (1611-18),361.

[6]Introduction,p.18. It appears that the French effigies were also put on display after the funerals. When eighteenth century traveller, Johann Jocab Volkmann (1732-1803) visited St. Denis he saw, 'the succession of French Kings, life-size, modelled in wax, robed in red, and sitting on chairs with sceptres and crowns'. See Benkard,p.24.

Elizabeth's effigy was certainly being exhibited on 4 August 1606. On this date Prince Henry took King Christian IV of Denmark, who was making a state visit to England, to the Abbey, as is recorded in Treasurer's Accounts for 1606. These accounts also state that an advance of £50 was sent to the Dean for dressing the effigies, including that of Elizabeth I. Stow confirms that the image of Queene Elizabeth was 'newly beautified, amended and adorned with royal vestures' for the occasion.[7]

Elizabeth's Tomb Effigy

The funeral effigy was not the only image of Elizabeth to be on display in Westminster Abbey in 1606. In 1605 James ordered a tomb for Elizabeth to be constructed in the Henry VII Chapel.[8] It, too, would be completed in the year of Christian IV's state visit.

James's action does not appear unusual until it is contextualized. The last projected royal tomb, that of Elizabeth's father at Windsor, was never completed.[9] It is likely to have been abandoned for a combination of reasons grounded in cost and inappropriateness of design. The probable original plan for a tomb for Henry VIII by Baccio Bandinelli incorporated no less than one-hundred-and-thirty-

[7]Hope,pp.566-7; Stow,p.886.

[8]Woolf,p.176.

[9]Llewellyn, *Royal Body* (1990),pp.224-5,231,233-8.

four statues together with forty-four panels of bronze relief and several effigies. Its incompatibility with the Reformation is underlined by the proposed inclusion of a representation of God the Father with the souls of the deceased.[10] Work on the tomb was still in progress in the mid-1560s but it appears that unease about the decorations was delaying its completion, as a report made for Lord Burghley on 'speciall thinge[s] wantinge' for the tomb suggests. In 1599, when Thomas Platter visited Windsor, he commented on the state of the tomb: 'The pillars made of brass are all very graceful, and eight angels likewise of brass overlaid with gilt. In the centre is a stone of black marble, it is one of the very finest tombs that I have seen; if only it were finished and complete!'.[11] That was never to be, however, and the half-finished tomb would be destroyed in 1645.

No tomb was built for Edward VI or Mary Tudor. Elizabeth's only tomb-building venture was the provision of new monuments for her Yorkist ancestors at Fotheringay in 1573. The old ones had been mutilated by iconoclasts.[12] In ordering Elizabeth's tomb, James was reviving a tradition that had been in abeyance since the Reformation. There was no political mileage to be gained from completing Henry VIII's tomb. Rather James would turn his attention to providing a tomb for

[10]Sandford,p.464. Representations of God were top of the reformers's prohibition list. See Michael O'Connell, 'The Idolatrous Eye: Iconoclasm, Anti-Theatricalism and the Image of the Elizabethan Theater', in *English Literary History*, 52 (1985),279-310 (p.287).

[11]Platter,p.209; Llewellyn, *Royal Body* (1990),p.235. A description of the tomb is preserved in John Speed, *Historie of Britaine* (London: [n. pub.], 1623).

[12]Mercer,p.220; Llewellyn, *Royal Body* (1990),p.227.

his immediate predecessor.

The tomb was sculpted by Maximilian Colt, a Huguenot from Arras and Master Sculptor to the Crown.[13] The framework is a free-standing canopied structure with ten Corinthian pillars of black marble, showing the influence of classicism. Inside lies a recumbent figure, in full-length white marble (figures 75 and 77).[14] Although the features are reproduced with great realism, suggesting that a death-mask was used, the stiff attitude of the figure is traditional. There is no sign yet of the innovative postures and emotion-speaking features of tomb sculpture later in the reign.[15] The impact of this marble image on contemporaries was augmented by colouring executed by Nicholas Hilliard and gilding by John de Critz. This transient decor has long since disappeared, however, together with the crown on the monument, and other accessories.[16]

The purpose behind the construction of a tomb for Elizabeth was, as Cecil put it, to provide a 'material focus for' public

[13]Whinney,p.62.

[14]Sandford,p.492. Vast architectural tombs of this type had begun to appear in the second half of the sixteenth century, e.g. tomb of John Lewestón (d. 1584) at Sherborne Abbey. By the end of the sixteenth century they were particularly associated with the Southwark school, Mercer,pp.223-4. The use of coloured marbles dates from the last quarter of the sixteenth century, ibid,p.231.

[15]There are also no secondary statues on this tomb or that of Mary Stuart, perhaps a residual result of the iconophobia that prevented the completion of Henry VIII's tomb.

[16]Parry (1981),p.254; Johnson (1974),p.441; Strong (1963),pp.153-4.

75. The tomb of Elizabeth I, Westminster Abbey, from Sandford's *Genealogical History*.

loyalty to Elizabeth.[17] Although the monument would cost the Crown and the City a considerable sum, Cecil felt that it was a good investment as he indicated in a letter to Sir Thomas Lake: 'For [...] it does his Majesty honour that the people see some little thing in doing [sic] for [Elizabeth]'. Presumably, the same impluse lay behind the refurbishment and display of Elizabeth's funeral effigy. As patron of the effigy projects, James associated himself with Elizabeth and endeavoured to appropriate loyalty to her memory for himself.[18] The Westminster Abbey funerary images of Elizabeth extended James's policy of demonstrating his familial duty to his predecessor and thus underscored the legitimacy of his lineal descent. In a sense, Elizabeth was commemorated as James's political mother. This was a state-led propaganda exercise and another example of Stephen Lukes's mobilization of bias. Cecil was motivated by a desire to bask in the reflected glory due to Elizabeth's chief minister.[19]

James's tomb programme shows that he recognized the propaganda potential of the Elizabeth-Gloriana image. Similarly, William Camden's *The Historie of the Most Renowned Princess Elizabeth* was written at James's behest between 1608 and 1617 'for the propagation of the Queenes honour'.[20] Ironically, however, James's patronage would lead to the propagation of a new image of Elizabeth. Camden presented Elizabeth as a model of

[17]Mullaney,p.13; Llewellyn, *Royal Body* (1990),pp.225-6.

[18]Nichols (1828),I,505; Woolf,p.176.

[19]King (1990),pp.34-5,69-71.

[20]Camden (1630). Cecil had a hand in this project as well as the tombs, King (1990),p.35. Camden's *Historie* was published in Latin in 1615, and in English in 1625.

constitutional propriety, financial probity and Protestant energy. Implicit in the work was criticisim of Jacobean extravagance, political corruption and policies of peace. Camden's work demonstrates the vulnerability of James's attempt to exploit the images of Elizabeth beyond her funeral. His image of Elizabeth, together with a revival of Spenser's Gloriana, were to be developed as a rhetorical weapon with which to attack James.[11] Elizabeth-Gloriana, the imperial ruler, was reproduced in both funeral and tomb effigies, each dressed in royal robes and bearing symbols of sovereignty. These physical images of Elizabeth were to prove as vulnerable as textual ones. They, too, would be appropriated by others and used to attack the King, as I shall argue in the Epilogue.

Mary Stuart's Tomb Effigy

Elizabeth's was not the only tomb that James erected in Westminster Abbey. There was also to be a tomb for Mary Queen of Scots. The Salisbury papers include an item which has been dated to 1603, suggesting that Robert Cecil proposed the project to the King early in the reign. It reads, 'The pattern for the tomb of the Queen of Scots I have already finished, the which you and I will show to the King. The charge thereof is estimated £2000'.[11] Once again, Cecil acted

[11]Sharpe (1979),pp.89-95.

[11]Salisbury XV,347. Often the date given for initiation of the project is 1607 but Llewellyn argues that it must have been planned well before then. See Llewellyn, *Royal Body* (1990),p.228. Woolf (p.176) says the project was initiated in 1605.

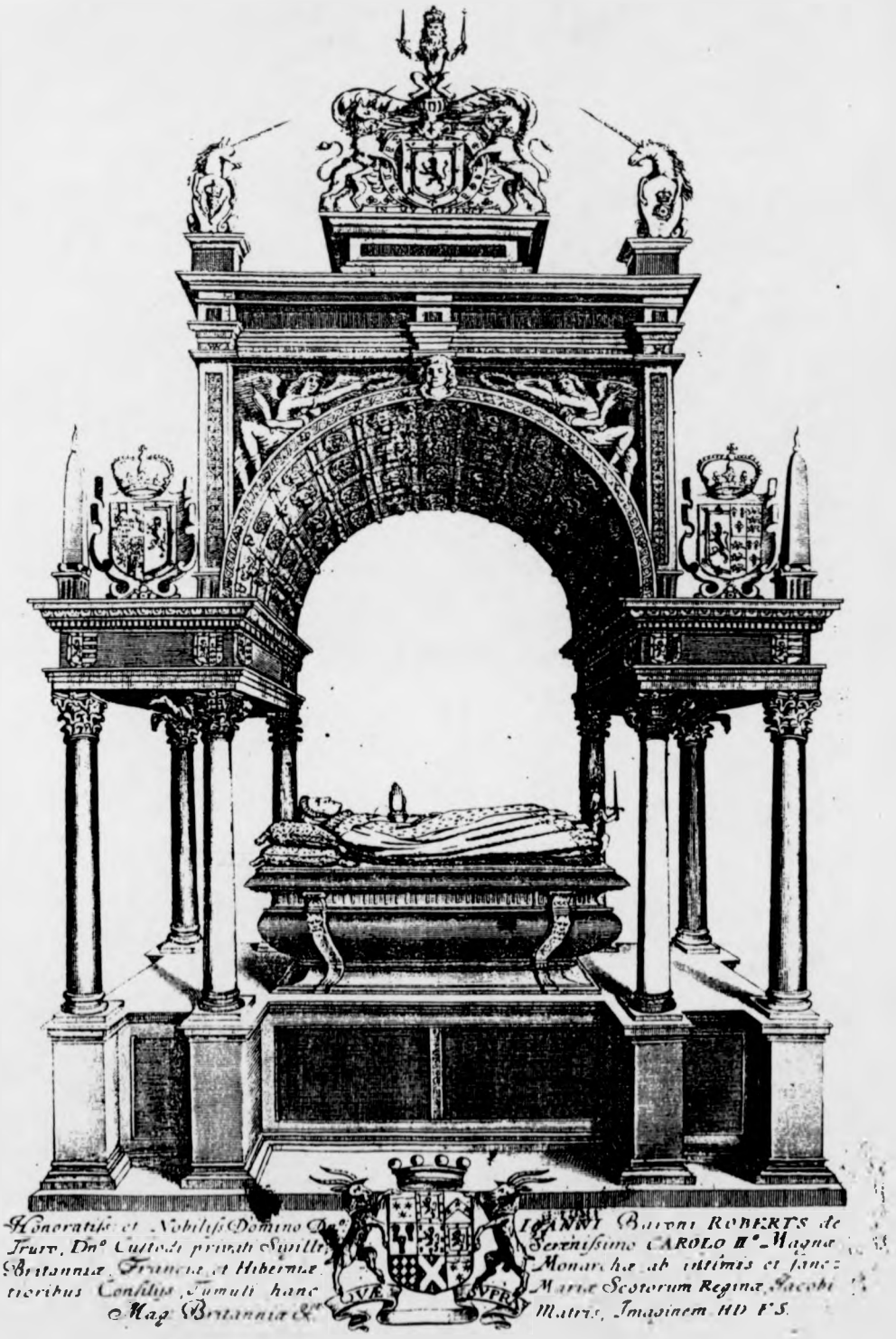
as the King's agent with regard to the tomb, briefing Cornelius Cure, the Crown's Master Mason, and ordering designs to be made. The tomb design was a free-standing tester: two groups of four columns connected by a large coffered arch supported the superstructure. The recumbent effigy of the dead Queen was set high up and depicted her in state robes (figures 76 and 78).[13]

Political motivations for James building a tomb for his natural mother centred around the enhancement of his own image. As we have seen James had felt it necessary to defend Mary's reputation in order to strengthen his claim to the English throne.[14] Once he was King, however, the urgency of James's need to defend Mary diminished. There is no evidence, for example, that Dekker suffered royal disapproval for his *The Whore of Babylon* (1606) with its allusions to Mary Queen of Scots. Similarly, while in 1596 James had stormed against certain passages in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* that slandered his mother, demanding that Elizabeth have the author tried and punished, the poem was republished in 1604 without a hint of royal annoyance.[15] Yet, while he might no longer wish to castigate others, James evidently still felt he could profit from propaganda which encouraged a positive image of his mother and the veneration of her memory, promoted in part through the Westminster tomb project.

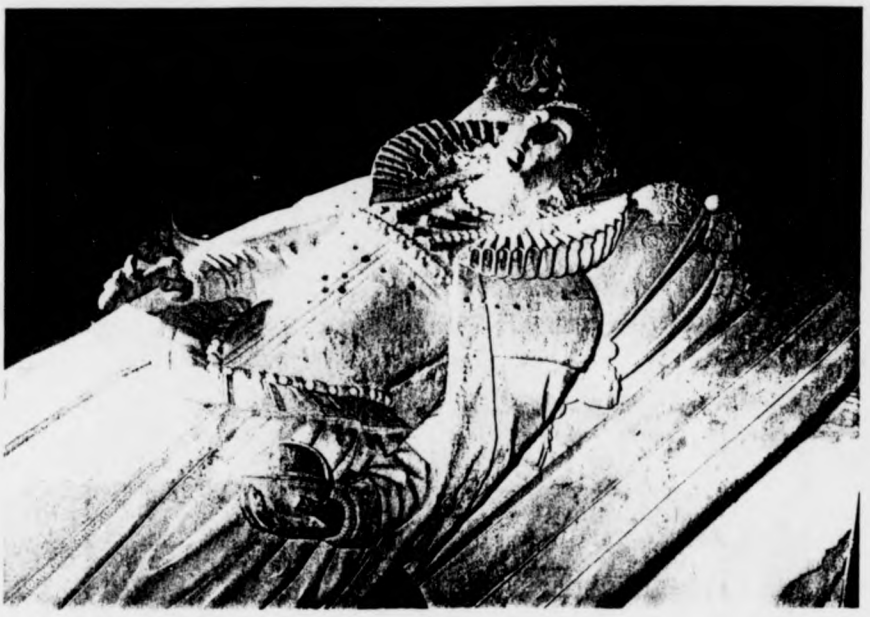
[13]HMC Hatfield Papers, XV (London, 1930),p.347 cited by Llewellyn, *Royal Body* (1990),p.228. See also Sandford,p.506; Roy Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, 2 vols (London: H.M.S.O., 1969),I,222;II,pl.438.

[14]See chapter 4,pp.116-7.

[15]CSPSc,I (1509-1603),723-4,747; Goldberg,p.xii. *The Faerie Queene* was republished in 1611,1612,1613 and 1617.



76. The tomb of Mary Queen of Scots, Westminster Abbey, from Sandford's *Genealogical History*.



77. The tomb effigy of Elizabeth I, Westminster Abbey.

78. The tomb effigy of Mary Queen of Scots, Westminster Abbey.

The involvement of Robert Cecil, who had not opposed execution of the Scottish Queen, is indicative of the project's political dimension. The Earl of Northampton, who had been of assistance to Mary Queen of Scots during her imprisonment, characterized Cecil's behaviour as political expediency.[16]

Some have linked the project to James's plans for the Union of England and Scotland, as expounded in his 'A Speach to both Houses of Parliament, Delivered in the Great Chamber at White-Hall', 31 March 1607.[17] Privately, James may have seen the project as a means of absolving any residual guilt he felt for the role he played in her death.[18]

Mary's tomb was to be the first in a series of tombs in the Henry VII Chapel that would effectively appropriate it as a royal necropolis for the Stuart dynasty (figure 79).[19] While work was in progress on Elizabeth's tomb, James lost two daughters and Colt was further commissioned to provide monuments to commemorate them.[20] James would himself be laid

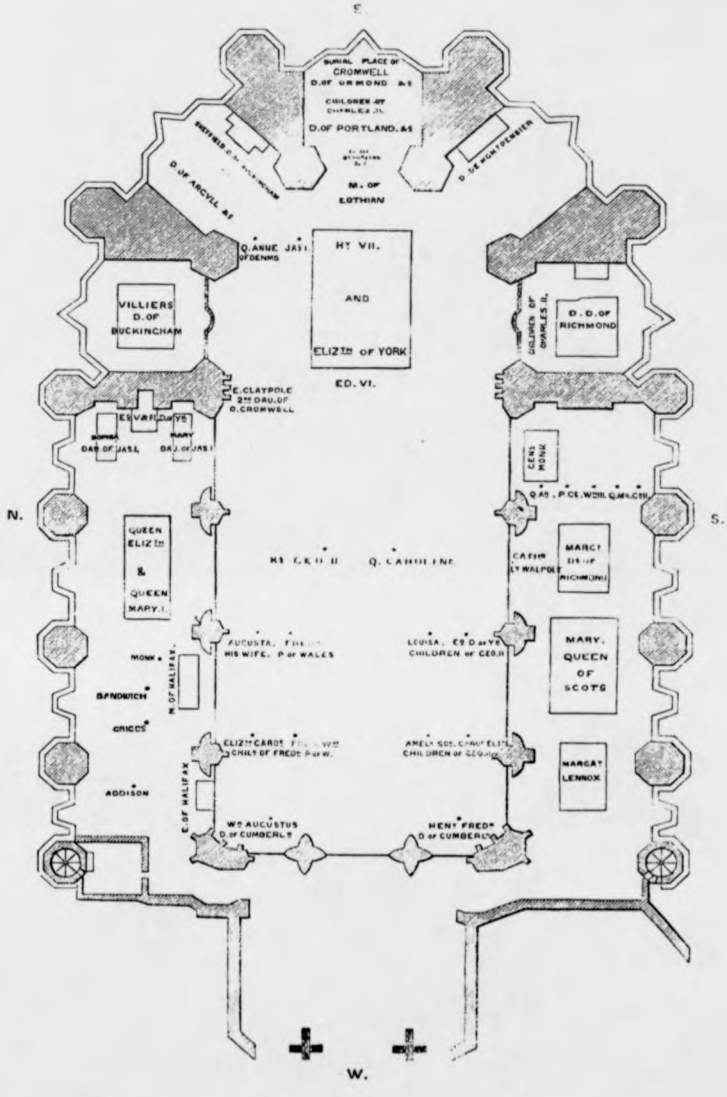
[16]CSPD,IX (1611-18),151. On the rivalry between Cecil and Northampton, see Sharpe (1979),p.119. Lennox may also have encouraged James's strategy of resurrecting the memory of his mother. In a letter to Robert Carr, James praised Lennox for helping him 'to rake up from the bottomless pit the tragedy of my poor mother'. See Akrigg (1984),pp.342-5.

[17]See Glynne Wickham, 'Romance and Emblem: A Study in the Dramatic Structure of *The Winter's Tale*', in *The Elizabethan Theatre III*, ed. by D. Galloway (London: Macmillan, 1973),pp.82-99 (pp.93-6); Neill (1981),p.77. For the speech to Parliament, see McIlwain,pp.290-305; and, on the Union, see Lockyer,pp.158-68; Lee (1990), pp.105,113-122.

[18]Goldberg,pp.14,84.

[19]Llewellyn, *Royal Body* (1990),pp.231-2.

[20]Joan D. Tanner, 'Tombs of the Royal Babies in Westminster Abbey', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 16 (1953),25-41.



79. Ground-plan of the Henry VII Chapel at Westminster Abbey showing the position of the tombs of Queen Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots.

to rest in the tomb of Elizabeth of York and Henry VII, founder of the chapel. The Chapel would also house the remains of Arabella Stuart, Queen Anne of Denmark and Elizabeth of Bohemia. James also erected a monument to his grandmother, Margaret Lennox, neice to Henry VIII's eldest sister. Her tomb underlined the lineal connection between the Elizabeth and James.[31] Among the figures of her children that knelt around the tomb is Henry Darnley with a crown upon his head.[32]

The idea of public sculpture to celebrate the monarchy was new in early seventeenth century England.[33] James's programme of tomb-building, with its display of royal effigies, may have been influenced by the Medici tombs constructed in Florence. He had blood links with Tuscany and Duke Ferdinand through Ferdinand's wife and the House of Lorraine. Dallington's travel book, *A Survey of the Great Dukes State of Tuscany, inn the yeare of Our Lord 1596*, had drawn attention to the Medici world and the statues of the Medici that adorned the *piazze* of Florence. In addition, two of James's Privy Council, Shrewsbury and Lord Burghley had both been to Florence.[34]

The monument is of the same style as Elizabeth's but there are discernible differences in size, with Mary's the larger of the

[31]Elizabeth paid for Margaret Lennox's obsequies in 1578, Camden (1630),p.90.

[32]Stanley (1869),p.178.

[33]Strong (1986),p.197.

[34]Robert Dallington, *A Survey of the Great Dukes State of Tuscany, 1596* (London: Edward Blount, 1605),p.9; Strong (1986),pp.30-1. Another source may have been the tomb of William the Silent at Delft.

two. Similarly, the cost of Mary's tomb was the greater, probably in excess of £2,000.[35] Only £765 was spent on Elizabeth's.[36] James venerated both political and natural mothers but judiciously gave slight ascendance to the latter.[37] An early indication of the relative status of the two Queens under James is indicated in Scaramelli's report that after Elizabeth's funeral portraits of the dead Queen were taken down and hidden, replaced in many cases by images of Mary Queen of Scots.[38] Whether this constituted spontaneous gestures on the part of subjects anxious to please their new King or was a government-driven initiative is, however, unclear.

Mary Stuart's tomb came to be revered by devout Scots as the shrine of a canonised saint and was associated with a series of miracles.[39] This development illustrates just how narrow the line was between the posthumous cults of Elizabeth and Mary and the cults of the saints in the Catholic church. While the former might have political motivations, they

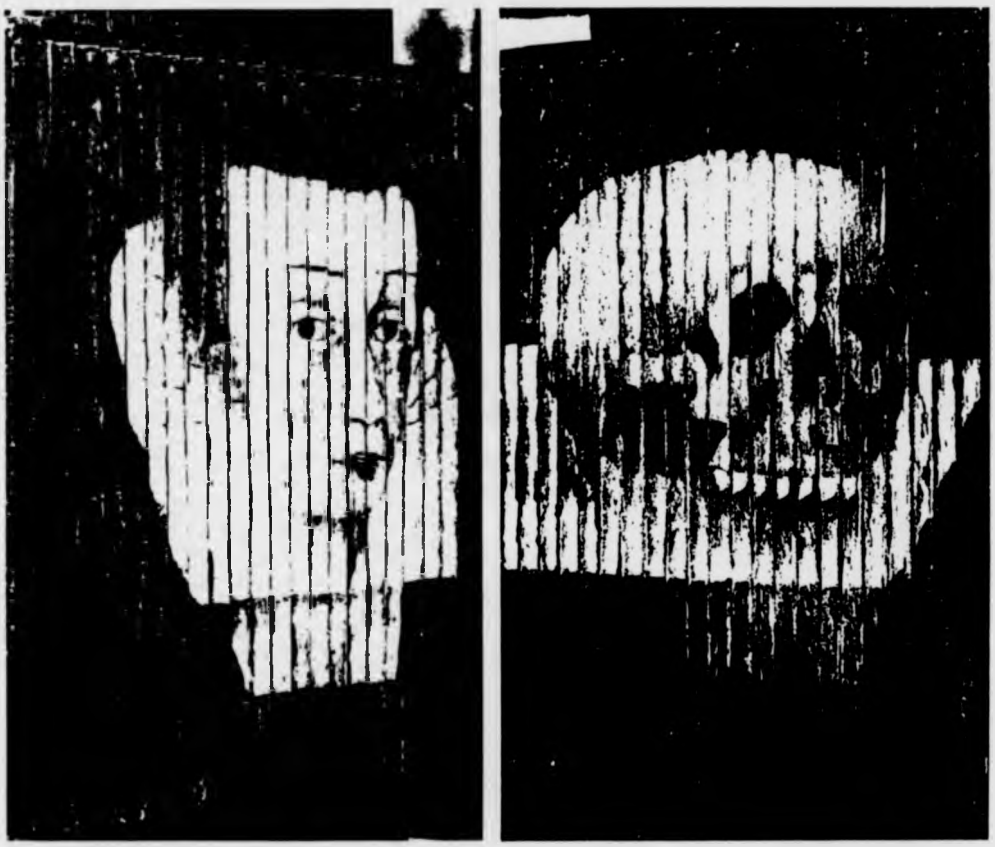
[35]The sculptor, Cornelius Cure, received £825 10s. for Mary's tomb while James Mauncey, of the Southwark School, was paid £265 for the painting and gilding, Mercer,p.231.

[36]Tanner (1953),p.40.

[37]The balance may have been redressed, however, by the fact that Elizabeth's tomb was located in the north aisle and Mary's in the south. In medieval church topography, north signified good and south bad, see Harris (1992),p.38.

[38]See CSPV, X (1603-7),p.10. Similarly portraits of Louis XIV were removed following his death in a quite systematic process of 'delouisification'. See Burke (1992),p.122.

[39]Stanley (1869),pp.154-5 citing Demster, ed., *Hist. Eccl. Ant. Scot.* (Bannatyne Club, 1829). On Mary's transformation into a Catholic matyr in France, see CSPF,XXI (1586-8) part I,316,678; Lynch (1988),pp.1-2; Greengrass,pp.187-8. See also figure 80.



80. Anonymous anamorphic portrait of Mary Queen of Scots.

inevitably carried with them religious connotations. The tomb and funeral effigies of Elizabeth and Mary that went on show in London in 1606-7 re-legitimized the secular veneration of images and was dangerously close to sending signals of royal approval for Catholic rites. Such issues would be explored in in the drama of the period as I shall demonstrate in the Epilogue.

A Second Funeral for Mary Queen of Scots

Soon after his coronation on 26 July 1603 James felt it politic to stage a kind of memorial service at the site of Mary's interment in Peterborough cathedral. On 14 August 1603 Sir William Dethick, Garter, travelled to Peterborough with a rich velvet pall embroidered with the arms of Mary Queen of Scots. It 'was by him solemnly carried and laid upon and over the corpse of the said late Queene, assisted by many knights, and gentlemenne, and much people at the time of the Divine service'.[11] A sermon was delivered by the Bishop of Peterborough in the morning. Then the company received a magnificent dinner and in the afternoon the Dean preached a second sermon 'relative to the late Queen'.

The service was not, however, to satisfy James's need to honour his mother's memory. Nor was construction of the Westminster Abbey tomb but it was completion of the monument that suggested to James the idea of moving Mary's body to

[11]BL, Harley MS 293 fol.211.

London. On 11 October 1612 the corpse of Mary Queen of Scots was transferred from Peterborough cathedral to Westminster Abbey.[41]

Second burials were a rare but not an unknown occurrence. Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk had been interred in Norwich on 27 January 1563 but was afterwards moved to Framlingham.[42] An earlier but royal example involves Edward IV who had the corpse of his father, Richard, Duke of York (d. 1495), transferred to Fotheringay, presumably with the intention of establishing a focus for the York dynasty.[43]

James's letter to the Dean of Peterborough ordering the transference of the body of his mother to London stresses the motive of filial duty:

> For that wee think it app'aynes to the Justice wee owe to our deerest mother that like honour should be done to hair bodye and like Monument be extant to her as to others (...) first as our progenitors have been used to be done, and our selves hae alreadie pfourmed to our deare Sister the late Queene Elizabeth wee have commanded a Memoriall of hir to be made in our Churche of Westminster, the place where the Kings and Queenes of this realme are usually interred. And for that we think it inconvenyont that the Monument and hir bodie should be in severall places, wee have ordered that hir saide bodye remayning nowe interred in that our Cathedrall Churche of Peterborough shalbe removed to

[41]Stanley incorrectly has 1606 for the year of the transfer of the body, see (1869),p.xl.

[42]Bod., Ashmole MS 836 fol.185.

[43]Tate,I,203. Richard III had the body of Henry VI (d. 1471) moved from Chertsey Abbey, where it had become the focus of pilgrimage, to the St. George Chapel, Windsor, where presumably public access would have been very limited. See White (1978),p.27; and W. J. White, 'The Death and Burial of Henry VI', *The Ricardian*, vol.6 no.78 (1982),70-80 and vol.6 no.79 (1982),106-17.

Westminster to her said monument'.[14]

As we have seen, with Elizabeth's death and the succession secured James still felt the need to reinscribe his relationship with his real mother, lineage being a key mode for the authorization of absolute rule. The tomb had begun that process; a second funeral to inter her remains within that tomb would complete it. James very clearly understood the relationship between ceremonial and power.

Mary's hearse was to remain the property of Peterborough cathedral.[15] James's letter specifies that the pall, which was still on the hearse following the 1603 funeral ceremony, should serve as the Church's fee.[16] The achievements would remain hanging in the cathedral church until 1643 and when Dugdale visited it in 1641 he made a drawing of them.[17]

Richard Neale, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and Dean of Westminster, as well as Clerk of the Closet to James, was made responsible for the transfer of the body. No detailed account of the procession which escorted the body has survived but it appears to have been effected with some magnificence. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Worcester and other noblemen together with the Bishop of Rochester and the Dean of Westminster met the corpse at

[14]Letter to the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough Cathedral, dated 28/9/1612. See Bod., Ashmole MS 836 fol.277; Akrigg (1984),pp.326-7; Llewellyn, *Royal Body* (1990),pp.227-8.

[15]Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fols 320-1.

[16]Akrigg (1984),p.327.

[17]A facsimile of the helm, crest and coat of arms is reproduced in Liang,p.53. See figure 48.

Clerkenwell at 6.00 p.m. and conveyed it to the Chapel Royal in Westminster Abbey."

The evening timing of the procession could be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to promote the occasion as a private and personal gesture on the part of the King towards his late mother. On the other hand many people might be freed from their work-time activities at this hour and on the look out for spectacle." Certainly, it was not a surreptitious nocturnal procession like that which had conveyed Mary's body to Fotheringay twenty-five years previously. On the contrary, the funeral procession appears to have been observed by many.

> 'Though the King's mother's body was brought late to town to avoid a concourse, yet many in the streets and windows wattched her entry with honour into the place whence she had been expelled with tyranny. She is buried with honour, as dead rose-leaves are preserved, whence the licquor that makes the kingdom sweet has been distilled.'"

James was ritually and publicly reaffirming the role of filial devotion that he had adopted towards his mother after her execution. At the same time, by having Mary reinterred in the Henry VII Chapel of Westminster Abbey, the royal sepulchre established by the Tudor dynasty, he was underlining the legitimacy of the Stuart succession.

"Stow,p.913; Sandford,p.535.

"A further possibility is that the College of Arms made no provision for second funerals (there is no mention of heralds in any accounts of the ritual) but presumably special arrangements could have been made if required.

"CSPD,XI (1611-18),152; Willson,p.56; J. W. Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror: Prince Henry Stuart: A Study of Seventeenth Century Personation* (New York: A.M.S. Press, 1978),p.9.

At the time of Mary's second funeral in 1612 these themes had a particular contemporary resonance. It was just a few months before the scheduled marriage of Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine. Lineage had an important role to play at this time of dynastic union. The honour James accorded to his progenitor would reflect upon his progeny. At this juncture plans were also still being made for the marriage of Prince Henry Stuart to a Catholic princess. A rumour that James had been pressed not to move his mother because it would bring ill luck is reported by Aubrey but smacks of a retrospective construction placed on events. Prince Henry Stuart, heir to the throne, had died less than a month later.[51]

James's policy of rehabilitating his mother's memory continued and was to form part of his intention in encouraging William Camden to resume his *Annales* of Elizabeth's reign. He wanted Camden to defend Mary against the accusations of the French historian, de Thou. Camden praised Mary as 'A Lady fix'd and constant in her Religion, of singular piety towards God, invincible magnanimity of mind, wisdom above her sex, and admirable beauty, and to be rank'd in the list of those Princesses, who have exchang'd their grandeur for misery and calamity'. Camden was even to praise the Guise for their ceremonial commemoration of Mary's death: 'Her funerall [was] most pompously solemnized at Paris by procurement of the Guises who to their great commendations performed all good offices of kindnesse to their kinswoman both alive and

[51]Nichols (1740),p.86.

dead'.[52]

Night-Burials and the Re-Legitimization of Torch-Light

We have seen how the use of torches in funeral processions was outlawed at the time of the accession of Elizabeth I, although it was used for the exceptional nocturnal procession of Mary Queen of Scots's 1587 Peterborough funeral. On the very different occasion of Mary's 1612 funeral procession in London, the night-time staging meant that once again the procession had to be conducted 'with plentie of torch-lights'. This funeral was, however, being deliberately promoted as a royal propaganda exercise. The liminality with which the Elizabethan government had surrounded funeral ritual practice permitted James to manipulate tradition and re-legitimize the use of torch-light in funeral processions.[53] In some eyes, however, such funeral accoutrements would still appear popish. Wilson, arch-satirist of James's court, was to characterize Mary's funeral as a veiled Catholic rite:

> She had a translucent passage in the night, through the City of London, by multitudes of Torches: The Tapers placed by the Tomb and the Altar, in the Cathedrall, smoaking with them like an Offertoire, with all the Ceremonies, and Voices, their Quires and Copes could express, attended by many Prelates and Nobles who payd this last Tribute to her

[52]Willson,pp.298,358; Camden (1630),p.110; Sharpe (1979),pp.89-95.

[53]See chapters 2,pp.97-8; and 4,p.129.

memory.[54]

Yet, over the next few years nocturnal funerals became increasingly common. Even if Mary Stuart's second funeral did not set the fashion for them, it gave them royal sanction.

In a letter to Alice Carleton of 16 February 1615, John Chamberlain makes it clear that nocturnal funerals were a phenomenon that took off in the mid-1610s. 'Lady Cheeke', he reported, 'died on Saterday, and was buried by night with above thirty coaches and much torch-light attending her, which is of late come much into fashion'.[55] A later letter of April 1623 makes it clear that it was not only the procession that took place at night. Sir Thomas Lowe (Lord Mayor of London 1604-5) 'was buried privatly on Tewsday night though there were a great deale of companie'.[56] Similarly, Sir Christopher Hatton was buried by night at Westminster Abbey on 11 September 1619.[57]

Contemporaries cite two possible sources for nocturnal funerals. Chamberlain suspects Catholics are behind the new fashion and comments, 'I rather thincke yt was brought up by papists which serve theyre turne by yt many wayes'.[58] He was not alone in this suspicion. A list of objections to the

[54]Arthur Wilson, *The History of Great Britain Being the Life and Reign of King James the First, Relating to what passed from his first Accession to the Crown, till his Death* (London: Richard Lownds, 1653),p.56.

[55]McClure,I,578.

[56]McClure,II,492.

[57]McClure,II,262.

[58]McClure,II,578.

practice of night burial found in the Harleian collection makes the same connection. Funeral torches, it is claimed, will lead some to 'draw neare unto poppery and heathenisme'.[9]

The association of torches with Catholicism was, however, diluted by an alternative, retrospectively identified 'source' increasingly pushed into public awareness by the writings of antiquarians and heralds. Sir William Segar, (Garter 1607-33) used Roman precedent as part of the justification of elaborate heraldic funerals, while, in a treatise on the antiquity of ceremonies, Ley commented on the Roman style of funerals in Britain, referring to them, in rather suspect Latin, as *funalibus* because they were solemn and by torch-light.[10] The growing fashion for night burials may have been facilitated by the provision of this non-Catholic 'source'.

Heralds may have unwittingly helped to promote the fashion for night burials through the descriptions of classical burial practices in their writings. Ironically, night burials permitted executors to avoid heraldic regulations and thus heraldic fees. By the time Weever comes to write on the

[9]BL, Harley MS 1301 fol.12.

[10]Segar (1602),p.251; Tate,I,210. Interesting in this context is the use of the term 'Antick Shield' in the manuscript account of the funeral of William, Earl of Glencairn, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, Bod., Ashmole MS 857 fol.198. See also Wagner (1978),p.43 on the tendency for heraldic painters to dress figures in Roman armour in their pedigree rolls. The Roman example was also used to justify the erection of the tombs. See Richard Brathwait, *Remains after Death: [...] including divers memorable observances* (London: [n. pub.], 1618). It may have influenced post-Reformation justifications of the use of effigies. See the (1599) description of the funeral of Sylla which featured 6,000 biers bearing effigies of his ancestors and honours, Tate,I,207.

subject in 1631, he identifies cost-saving as the reason behind the popularity of both Roman and contemporary nocturnal funerals.[61] In his letter to Alice Carleton, Chamberlain confirms that nocturnal funerals were thought to aim at the avoidance of 'trouble and charge'.[62]

Certainly, nocturnal funerals enabled executors to take advantage of various cost benefits. The avoidance of heralds's fees, already mentioned, was a major factor. Norroy herald requested warrants to proceed against several executors in Staffordshire who had staged nocturnal funerals and thereby avoided the payment of fees due to the College of Arms. In April 1620, for example, Sir Alexander Barlow 'was buried att Manchester church by torchlight, whose executors cannot yet resolve whether to have a funerall or noe by reson sume of them [are] as yet in the South parts neere London and not come downe'. Another case involved the burial of Sir Edmund Trafford 'by torchlight' with a 'funerall sermon by candlelight'.[63] Executors could also save on the cost of commissioning a sermon and the traditional distribution of alms to the poor.

Not all held nocturnal funerals with the aim of staging a cheap, private ceremony. In 1623 the Countess of Warwick 'was

[61]Weever, pp.12-7. Books like Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments* and Sir Thomas Browne's *Urne Buriall* would stimulate continued interest in ancient mortuary rituals. See Sir Thomas Browne, *The Major Works*, ed. by C. A. Patrides (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977), pp.261-315.

[62]BL, Harley MS 1301 fol.12.

[63]For details of other circumventions of heraldic control by painter stainers, sculptors, etc., see Bod., Ashmole MS 836 fol.551.

convoyed out of Holborn to be buried in Essex by more than two hundred horse all with torches and above threescore coaches, among whom were both the Duchesses [Richmond and Buckingham]'.[11] Nocturnal rites seem, in part, to have become a place to be seen. Chamberlain, describing the interment of Sir Thomas Lowe in April 1623, writes, 'He was buried privatly on Tewsday night though there were a great deale of companie, and Sir John Bennet with much ado got leave to be there'.[12] Executors were exploiting the theatricality bestowed upon nocturnal funerals by their torchlit settings but the multiplicity of candles also contributed to the reassuring effects of sublimation.

Another reason for avoiding heraldic funerals related to an increasing discomfort with the prospect of embalming, a necessary process because the elaborate funerals took weeks to organize. Women in particular were becoming more and more unhappy with embalming. The will of Mary, Countess of Northumberland, provides an early example of the emotional origins of this view. She expressed the desire 'not in any wise to let me be opened after I am dead. I have not loved to be very bold before women, much more would I be loath to come into the hands of any living man, be he physician or surgeon'. The modesty of this testamentary directive, as Gittings points out, 'has strong undertones of sexuality about it' and is

[11]McClure,II,531. The growing use of coaches may have been a contributory factor in determining the fashion for nocturnal funerals. Processions involving such large numbers of coaches would have been much easier to stage during the night when the streets were empty of normal daytime traffic.

[12]McClure,II,492.

suggestive of the eroticizing of death that is such a fascinating feature of the changing attitudes towards death emerging at the beginning of the seventeeth century. In the directions for her funeral the Duchess of Richmond willed: 'Let them wind me up again in those sheets [...] wherein my Lord and I first slept that night when we were married'.[10]

The growing popularity of night burials was subversive in two ways. On the one hand it broke the College of Arms' monopoly on the staging of aristocratic funerals, undermining their function as a form of social control, and on the other, it sent out confusing signals regarding the official position on religious ritual. Both effects were compounded by the accompanying rise in the incidence of alternative burials, fuelled in part by James's tolerance of matters religious, including ritual.

The Non-Homogeneity of Jacobean Funeral Ritual

As long as they took the Oath of Allegiance (1606), Catholics were accorded relative freedom in their religious practices.[11] In death, Henry Howard, Lord Privy Seal and first Earl of Northampton (d. 1614), pushed that freedom to its logical end: his executors were to give him a full Catholic-style funeral.

[10]Gittings,pp.190-4. Weever complains about those who garnish their tombs 'with pictures of naked men and women',p.249. On eroticism and death, see Ariès,pp.369-81,392-5,404.

[11]See chapter 6,pp.203-4,209.

Northampton's body was transported to Dover Castle where it was to be buried in the chapel. A bell was tolled for one or two days prior to the funeral. Chamberlain reported that 'he had extreme unction, and his body lay covered while yt was here with a velvet pall that had a white crosse clean thorough yt, with two burning tapers upon his coffin day and night, where sixe of his gentlemen watcht continually by turnes with torches borne by other servants and in that order he was caried all alonge thorough Kent in all the ynnes where he reste'. The tone of Chamberlain's account, which mentions 'much descanting' and 'rumour', illustrates that Northampton's funeral took on scandalous proportions. The mention of 'extreme unction' indicates how the other aspects of the ritual, including the use of hearse lights, would have been seen by many as distinctly popish.[10]

Henry Howard was a notorious Catholic, but one who had manoeuvered himself into favour with James at the accession, swiftly rising to the position of Lord Privy Seal in 1608.[11] Howard's special position probably provided the executors with sufficient confidence to perform Howard's Catholic-style funeral.[12] The fact that the funeral was allowed to take place demonstrates that James, however assiduous he might have

[10]McClure,I,540-2.

[11]On Northampton, see Linda Levy Peck, *Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1982) and Linda Levy Peck, 'The Mentality of a Jacobean Grandee', in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. by Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991),pp.148-68. On Northampton's unpopularity, see Dutton,p.199.

[12]Northampton's position as one of the commissioners for the position of Earl Marshall may have been significant. On his patronage of the heralds, see Guillim,p.275.

been in manipulating the funerals and posthumous images of Elizabeth and Mary, was careless about controlling the funeral rituals of his subjects.[71] His indifference may in part have stemmed from his Scottish origins. There was, as far as I am aware, no Scottish equivalent of the College of Arms. Certainly, Scots were not subject to the control of the English College of Arms and played an active role in popularizing nocturnal funerals. On 20 April 1616, Chamberlain witnessed the funeral of Sir John Grimes or Graemes, a Scottish courtier and favourite of George Villiers, who 'was solemnly buried in the night at Westminster with better than 200 torches, the Duke of Lennox, the Lord Fenton, the Lord of Roxborough and all the grand Scottish men accompanieng him'.[72]

There is no evidence of James intervening to ensure an appropriate level of ceremony at the funerals of any of his subjects. This contrasts markedly with the policy of his predecessor as described in chapter 2.[73] By 1618, however, James seems to have realized the important role played by funerals in the maintenance of the social framework.[74] In

[71]In 1611 James did, however, make complaints about the numbers of people attending mass in the chapels of Catholic ambassadors, Willson,pp.197-200,269.

[72]McClure,I,623. Inevitably, however, given their strong Calvinist tradition, some Scots regarded even the English funeral service as popish, as is illustrated by the refusal of one of their ecclesiastics to receive communion during the funeral service of an English guardsman in Edinburgh in 1617. See ibid.,II,66. On the same occasion the Dean of St. Paul's was forced to retract after asking the congregation to recommend the soul of the defunct to God and Laud was censured for wearing a surplice at the interment. I have subsequently discovered that the Scottish heraldic body was entitled the Court of Lord Lyon, King of Arms.

[73]Chapter 2,pp. 91-3.

[74]Gittings,p.199; Wagner (1967),pp.110;238-9.

that year a commission of enquiry, headed by the Earl Marshal, was set up and a number of measures recommended by the heralds were adopted.[75] Yet, while James clamped down on the abuses of painter-stainers and other artisans who were encroaching on the College of Arms' monopoly on the provision of funeral accoutrements, he did not legislate against nocturnal funerals thereby setting no limits on consumer choice of funeral rite.[76] He was interested mainly in the need to maintain social records of the aristocracy but was prepared to extend support to the College of Arms on the issue of fees.[77] The wording of the 1618 decree makes this clear:

> From henceforth all Noblemen, Baronets, Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen of eminent Place, Office, Birth, Quantitie, that shall be either silently buried in the Night time by torch-light, or otherwise, by Day or Nighttime without the attendance of an Officer of Armes, shall neverthelesse immediately after the death and buriall of every such Defunct, returne a true Certificate of the Matches, Issues and times of Decease with their Armes which of right they bore for which they shall pay the said Officer of Armes such Fees as we have and doe hereby set downe'.

While these regulations resulted in the prosecution of some illegal painters, they had little effect on the general trend towards eclecticism in funeral practices. By 1631 John Weever comments that the fashion for nocturnal funerals had spread

[75]It is perhaps significant that the position of Earl Marshal was held in commission between 1602, after the execution of the Earl of Essex, Earl Marshall 1597-1601, and 1621 when Arundel was appointed. See Dallaway, Appendix 52.

[76]On the decline of the College of Arms, see Fritz,pp.75-7; Wagner (1967),p.237 and Litten,pp.189-94.

[77]Dallaway's statistics for the attendance of heralds at funerals between 1597 and 1605 reveal a peak in 1600. See Dallaway,p.259.

[78]'Orders issued by the College of Arms regarding the abuses at funerals', Bod., Ashmole MS 845 fol.124.

markedly:

> Funerals in any expensive way here with us, are now accounted but as a fruitlesse vanitie, insomuch that almost all the ceremoniall rites of obsequies heretofore used, are altogether laid aside; for we see daily that Noblemen and Gentlemen of eminent ranke, office and qualitie, are either silently buried in the night-time with a Torch, a two-penie linke and a lanterne, or parsimoniously interred in the daytime.[10]

Around 1635 Charles I announced a prohibition on all nocturnal funerals but it seems that the proclamation was largely ignored. Soon afterwards the Earl Marshal, Arundel, wrote to the Lord Mayor with reference to the death of Alderman Sir Richard Deane. It had come to Arundel's attention that Deane was to be buried nocturnally and he wrote vetoing the plan and ordering an appropriate funeral to be held.[11] The rot had set in, however, and in 1685 Charles II would be buried at night by torchlight.[11]

From the mid-1610s there was, then, no homogeneous funeral rite for the aristocracy. Nocturnal funerals sent out confusing signals of the validity of religious symbolism and individual choice which impinged upon the traditional heraldic funeral with its state demonstration of orthodoxy and order. In addition Catholic-style funerals were occasionally staged while, at the other end of the spectrum, the ritual-free rites of Puritan interments only added to the confusion of forms for

[10]Weever,pp.17-8.

[11]Waters,pp.50-1; Gittings,p.200; Puckle,p.198.

[11]CA, Briscoe MS I fols 1-6; Fritz,p.67. By the end of the seventeenth century, royal funerals, baptisms, christenings and weddings were all under the direction of the Lord Chamberlain's Office and had been largely removed from the control of the Earl Marshal's Office, ibid.,pp.74,78.

funeral rites. In 1607, William Bird was reported in Essex 'for buring the dead being a meare laye mann [...] he hath buried manye deed bodys in the parish of Coggeshall but hathe not redd the forme of buriall sett forthe in the book of Common Prayer neither was ther anye minister present.'[11] Although the non-ritual nature of these proceedings excludes them from my discussion, it is important to bear them in mind when assessing the place of the funeral in the cultural milieu of the early seventeenth century. Puritan funerals constituted a real threat partly because they denied hierarchical order altogether but also, since they were ritual-free, because they blocked the effects of sublimation. As Person commented in 1635, the 'pompous solemnities' of the Catholic funeral produced a 'kinde of pious compassion in the beholders, [and] so it begetteth a manner of content', but the 'silent and dumbe' obsequies of the Puritans 'doth not so take the spectators'.[12]

The non-homogeneity of funeral ritual is indicative of the strains on social cohesion at this time of increasing religious divisions. The function of the funeral ritual, which was to heal the breach in the community caused by the death of one of its members, could not continue in a community which practised diverse and separate rites.[13]

[11]Act Books, Archdeacon of Colchester, D/ACA, no.27,p.124, cited by Stuart Barton Babbage, *Puritanism and Richard Bancroft* (London: S.P.C.K., 1962),pp.78-94,155.

[12]Person,p.164. See Introduction,pp.12-4.

[13]See Benjamin Carier, *A Missive to his Majesty of Great Britain King James*, ed. by N. Strange (Paris: [n. pub.], 1649) for the strong and divisive feelings aroused by differing funeral rites, cited by Gittings,p.51; Collinson (1988),p.143.

THE FUNERAL OF PRINCE HENRY STUART (1612)

The Prince of Wales, Henry Stuart died suddenly and unexpectedly at the age of eighteen on 11 November 1612. At the beginning of October he was showing signs of a fever but continued to lead a full public life until he was forced to take to his bed on 25 October. Less than two weeks later he was dead.[1]

Prince Henry was interred in the vault of his grandmother, Mary Queen of Scots, in the Henry VII Chapel. Thus James continued his policy of emphasizing the link between the Stuarts and the Tudor dynasty.[2]

Henry was, however, never to receive a tomb, a fact which has led Graham Parry to charge James with neglecting the Prince's memory. The discussion in this chapter questions this view in two ways. First, analysis of the funeral reveals that the scale and magnificence of the affair broke all precedents and constituted a great tribute to the Prince's memory. The ephemerality of the funeral display does not, as Huizinga thought, diminish its significance.[3] Certainly the evidence of cost is suggestive of the importance which James and his advisors attributed to the funeral ceremony. One year after the event, £16,000 was still owed for the expenses of the

[1]Strong (1986),p.220.

[2]Akrigg (1962),p.139; Parry (1981),p.87; Sandford,p.530.

[3]J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London: Edward Arnold, 1924),p.45.

sumptuous obsequies.[4] In the course of this analysis I discuss the motives behind the elaborate funeral that was staged for Prince Henry. Subsequently, I argue that the post-obsequy display of the funeral effigy of Prince Henry precluded the need for a funeral monument.

The Magnificence of the Prince's Funeral

The arrangements for the funeral were set in motion with alacrity. Three days after the Prince's death the Privy Council met at St. James's palace to give orders for the funeral.[5] (One member of the Council who was not involved in the deliberations was Arundel. He was abroad at the time of Prince Henry's death and funeral.) On 23 November the whole court went into mourning, with the ambassadors following suit the next day.[6]

Meanwhile, the Prince's encoffined body lay in state at St. James's Palace for a month. It lay first in the Bedchamber which was hung with mourning, 'on a place above an ell in height'. The body was served with the `same service and order

[4]Akrigg (1962),p.139. This contrasts with the £13,000 spent on the celebrations for the wedding of Henry's sister, the Princess Elizabeth, to Frederick, the Elector Palatine, Parry (1981),p.255.

[5]Cornwallis,p.82. Cornwallis had been Treasurer in the Prince's household and took part in the funeral proceedings.

[6]Howarth,p.35; CSPV, XII (1610-13),450.

of meals as when he was alive', just as Elizabeth's body had been. He was attended by seventy gentlemen of his household, ten at a time.'[7] As far as I know, this is the first instance of a ritualized lying-in-state ceremony involving the continued service of the household being extended to the body of anyone other than a monarch.

The Prince's encoffined body was also accorded the elaborate process of gradual transfer from chamber to chamber in preparation for the funeral procession. The coffin rested in the Privy Chamber for one night, then in the Presence Chamber for one day, then in the Great Chamber for fifteen minutes before being removed to the chapel and placed in a hearse to await the day of the funeral. All four chambers were hung with blacks. Prayers were said in the Presence or Privy Chamber every day, both morning and evening.[8]

The funeral procession, which was to take place on 7 December 1612, further marked Prince Henry's funeral out as a highly unusual event. The cortège was comparable in size with that of Henry IV of France, both having approximately two thousand participants. (Elizabeth's procession had only had 1,600 mourners). According to Cornwallis, it took four hours to marshal the participants in Henry's procession.[9] The funeral

[7]Cornwallis states forty gentlemen were in attendance,p.83; Akrigg (1962),p.136.

[8]Cornwallis,p.85; *The Funerals of the High and Mighty Prince Henry* (London, 1613) in Nichols (1828),II,493-512 (p.493).

[9]Foscarini estimates that 2,000 people were involved in the procession, CSPV,XII (1610-13),468; Nichols (1828),II,499; Cornwallis,p.85; Sandford,p.497.

of Henry IV, Prince Henry's godfather, had taken place two only years previously and was likely to have been in the forefront of the minds of both organizers and observers. The Venetian ambassador made an explicit parallel between the deaths of the two Henries, lamenting that he could do nothing but follow Henry Stuart's bier with 'useless tears'.[10] The recent example of Henry IV's funeral may have influenced the decision to have an effigy of the dead Prince constructed for the obsequies.

The effigy was the most striking element of the procession (figure 81). Hope has argued that the funeral of Henry, Prince of Wales was the only pre-Restoration instance of a funeral effigy made for anyone other than a king or queen. Chronicles of the time and the detailed records kept at the Herald's College describing the funerals of the children of Henry VIII reveal that there was no effigy for the Lady Elizabeth (d.1495), nor for Edmond (d.1499), nor for Prince Arthur (d.1502), nor for Prince Henry (d.1510). Hope does note one exception, the funeral of Mary, the Duchess of Suffolk, Henry VIII's sister, who was buried in Bury St. Edmunds (d.1533). The use of a funeral effigy on this occasion can be explained, however, by her status as Queen consort of Louis XII of France.[11] Another exception, missed by Hope, was the funeral of Richard Plantagenet, father of Edward IV (d.1460). One can only guess that Edward IV wished to enhance the status of his father as part of his bid for the

[10]CSPV,XII (1610-13),448. See figures 92,93 and 94.

[11]Hope,pp.548-555.

81. Funeral procession of Prince Henry Stuart (1612), title page of George Wither, *Prince Henry's Obsequies*.

throne.[11] Effigies were also made for bishops before the Reformation.[13] These occasions would, however, have been long forgotten by 1612. More recent is the funeral of Anne Duchess of Somerset (d.1587) for which William Dethick says, 'there was a portaieture of the same duchesse made in robes of her estate, with a caronicall [coronet] to a duchess, and the same representation borne under a canopie'.[14] I have, however, come across no other evidence to corroborate this and as we saw in chapter 4, Dethick, who was writing in 1599, is not always a reliable witness.[15]

In the early seventeenth century, then, the use of the effigy was the mark of the funeral of the deceased monarch. It was highly exceptional that an effigy should have been made for Prince Henry. Nevertheless, made it was, 'in so short warning, as like him as could be', and on the Sunday before the funeral it was brought to St. James's palace.[16] Again, this is a clear case of situational adjustment.

During the procession the effigy, dressed in the Prince's creation robes, was laid upon the coffin and carried on an open chariot.[17] On arrival at Westminster Abbey the bier, which supported both body and effigy, was borne shoulder-high

[11]BL, Egerton MS 2642 fol.176.

[13]See chapter 5,p.170.

[14]Tate,I,204. On the fluidity of the term 'représentation' in sixteenth century French, see chapter 4,pp.140-1.

[15]See chapter 4,pp.142-3.

[16]Cornwallis,p.85.

[17]Nichols (1828),II,494; Akrigg (1962),p.137.

into the heart of the church and placed on a specially constructed catafalque (figure 82). The body and effigy lay in state during the two-hour funeral oration, delivered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and for a further three days of services for the dead. They remained in the catafalque `to be seene of all' for nine more days until 19 December when the coffin was interred.[10]

The hearse may have been designed by Inigo Jones, but whoever was responsible, he applied classical ideas to the traditional design of this funeral struture.[11] The base of the hearse was neo-classical in design, with six columns rising up to the canopy. The canopy was traditionally shaped, rising to a point in the centre, and was heavily decorated with the arms, plumes and motto of the Prince of Wales.[12] Foscarini, the Venetian ambassador, described the form of the canopy as a 'pyramid' hinting at the growing eclecticism of response to architecture and indicating the assimilation of Egyptian symbolism into Renaissance culture.[13] The hearse certainly attracted comment and Cornwallis makes much of it in his account.[14] It is worth noting, however, the odd juxtaposition of classical hearse and medieval-Tudor funeral effigy. Wotton

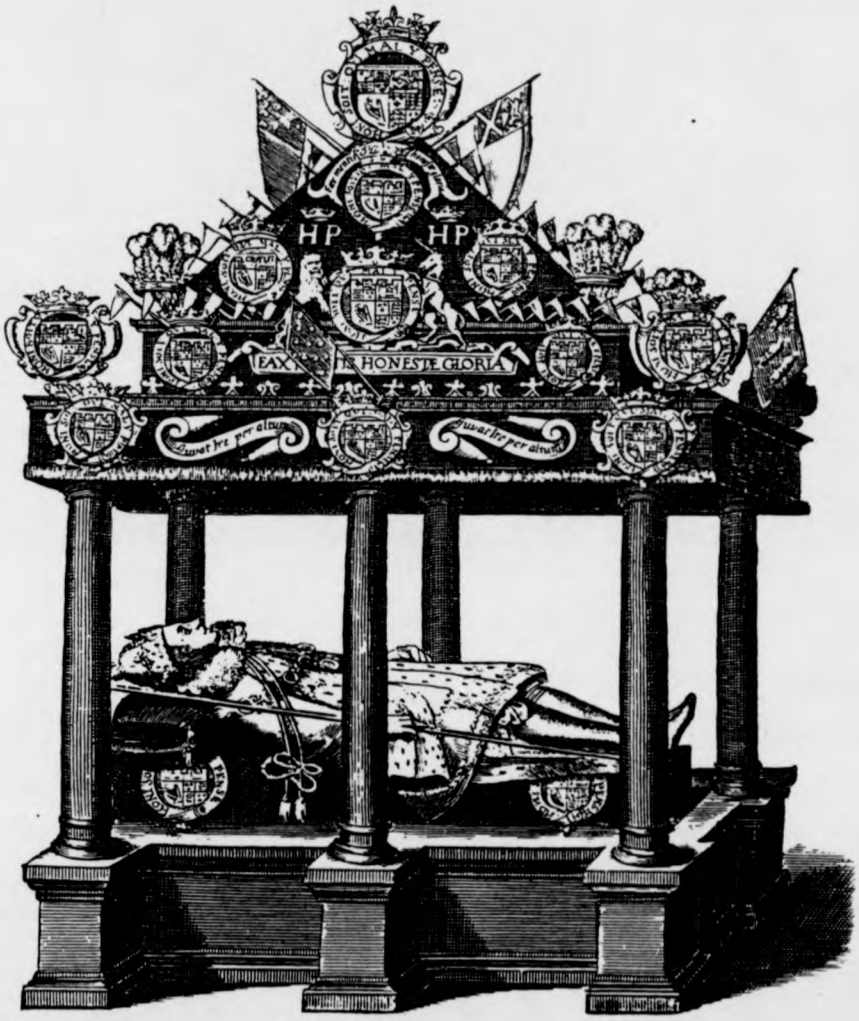
[10]CSPV,XII (1610-13),469; Akrigg (1962),p.139.

[11]John Peacock, 'Inigo Jones's Catafalque for James I', *Architectural History*, 25 (1982),1-5 (p.2). See figure 82.

[12]This is the first use of feathers on a hearse that I am aware of.

[13]CSPV,XII (1610-13),468. The Romans had assimilated the Egyptian into their funeral culture: the mausoleum of Augustus was built in a pyramid-shape as if he had been another pharaoh. See Burke (1992),p.197.

[14]Cornwallis,p.87.



82. Hearse and funeral effigy of Prince Henry Stuart, from Sandford's *Genealogical History*.

will call 'the *Fashion* of *colouring* even *Regall statues*, which I must take leave to call an *English Barbarisme*'. His comments indicate that the jarring effect produced by the combination of classical and medieval would not have been lost on contemporaries.[13]

Replication of funeral ceremonies at the Universities and at Bristol further aggrandized Prince Henry's funeral to the level of a sovereign king. 'A solemne obsequie for him at Oxford with a sermon and a funerall oration after yt at St. Maries and the like in the afternoone at Christ Church both which places were hanged and furnished with blacks, and they have set out a booke of Latin elegies and funerall verses'. Cambridge similarly celebrated an obsequy for the prince.[14] At Bristol 'the Mayor, with his Brethren and the Common Councell, and all the Companies going before them in their gowns, did so solemnize Prince Henry's Funeral, going from the Tolzey, every one in order, to Redcliffe Church to hear a Sermon, maintaining thereby their love to the Prince and their sorrow for his death; and the Magistrates put themselves in mourning attire'.[15]

[13]Wotton,p.89. The tombs of Elizabeth and Mary similarly combined classical framework with coloured effigies. On the classicism of the Princes's entertainments, see Parry (1981),p.75.

[14]McClure,I,396; Cornwallis,pp.90-2. See also chapter 5,p.159 n.40.

[15]Samuel Seyer. *Memoirs historical and topographical of Bristol*, 2 vols (Bristol: [n. pub.], 1821-23),II,264, cited by Nichols,II,503 n.1.

Motives behind the Magnificence of the Funeral: the Management of Public Grief and Political Loss

Henry Stuart's funeral was, then, a deliberately inflated affair. Although members of his Privy Council dealt with the detailed planning of the event, James was behind the funeral arrangements for his son. What motivated him to give Henry such an elaborate funeral?

One motivation was the need to smooth over the dissolution of Prince Henry's household. We have seen how extensive and sophisticated this establishment had become. Its dissolution would leave a large gap in the patronage system and leave many people without the means to sustain themselves. At the time of his death Prince Henry's household incorporated 315 Gentlemen of the Chamber and 102 Gentlemen of the Household.[16]

James did distribute 50,000 crowns amongst the dead prince's household but such financial help could be of little long-term assistance. Individual grants were made but were often delayed even when granted. The funeral facilitated deferment of the dissolution of the household, giving its members time to adjust to their new situation. As Foscarini commented, the household officially broke up when the staves were broken at the end of the funeral ceremony about a month after the Prince's death.[17] Many looked to the establishment of a

[16]CSPV,XII (1610-13),450.

[17]CSPV,XII (1610-13),450,469; Cornwallis agrees that the Prince's household resigned at the breaking of the staves,p.92. Parry (1981), however, comments that the formal dissolution of the Prince's household was at the end of the year, on which occasion Dr Hall preached a farewell sermon to

comparable household for Prince Charles, 'wherein each would be admitted to his old post', as the Venetian ambassador reported on 30 November.[18] The funeral also provided an emotional outlet for those who had been identified with his son. Through the magnificence of the funeral James gave implicit sanction for his son's memory to be honoured.

Aside from the benefits to the late Prince's household, the funeral provided a focus for the grief of the nation. Cornwallis describes the 'innumerable multitude of all sorts of all ages and degrees of men, women and children [...] some holding their heads, not being able to endure so sorrowful a sight, all mourning [...] some weeping, crying, howling, wringing of their hands, passionately bewailing so great a losse'. Similarly, Foscarini reports that the trumpeters in the procession 'by the sound of their funeral march, most beautifully played, they drew tears from the eyes of all who heard'.[19] In the days before his death, the whole country had been praying for Henry's recovery. After the event almost fifty different volumes of memorial writing were produced for him, elegies, epicedia, epitaphs, emblems, impresa, devices, meditations and sermons. The sorrow felt at the death contrasts with the 'fabrication' of grief I have traced at the death of Elizabeth, the ageing Queen who had received no comparable literary pouring forth of lament. Henry, however, had been heir to the throne. Perhaps, as Williamson puts it,

'the Family of Prince Henry',p.87. See also Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Downshire* MSS,III,436.

[18]CSPV,XII (1610-13),453.

[19]Cornwallis,p.86; CSPV,XII (1610-13),468. See also Sir John Throckmorton's comments in *Downshire* MSS,III,436.

'it was the sudden loss of a living national myth for which men cried out' rather than the loss of Prince Henry as an individual.[10] Henry did have a substitute, Prince Charles, whose role as heir would be underlined in the offering service where he received his late brother's funeral hatchments, in accordance with heraldic tradition.[11] Charles was, however, physically weak and had not yet become a public figure.[12] He could not yet assuage the grief felt for his lost brother. There were, however, more complex emotions behind this funeral than the simple expression of sorrow.

Henry had gained a reputation as a champion of Protestant and national interests, promoted in the context of a neo-chivalric revival.[13] In 1610, as his investiture approached, Prince Henry played his part in persuading James to ally himself with the French in the battle over Cleves (1610) and looked forward to active involvement in a glorious campaign against the Habsburgs and the papacy. Henry's ultimate dream was of a crusade against the Turks.[14]

[10]Williamson,pp.171-3,155.

[11]Although there is no explicit reference to Charles receiving his brother's achievements in the published account, he was led up to the altar by Garter just before the achievements were offered. See Nichols (1828),II,500.

[12]Prince Charles would not be created Prince of Wales until 1616. Subsequently physical weakness seems to have delayed his involvement in court festivities until New Year 1618. See Graham Parry, 'The Politics of the Jacobean Masque', in *Theatre and Government Under the Early Stuarts*, ed. by J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993),pp.87-117 (pp.109-110).

[13]Williamson,pp.29-42; Strong (1986),pp.68-9; Smuts,pp.29,82. See also figure 83.

[14]Strong (1986),p.73; Williamson,pp.109-141; Parry (1981),p.93,96.

ILLUSTRISSIMI GENEROSISSIMIQUE PRI. HENRICI
MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ ET HYBERNIÆ PRINCIPIS.
Vera Effigies.

83. Prince Henry exercising with a lance. Engraving by Simon Van de Passe.

Even before Henry IV's death, Prince Henry had come to be seen as the true leader of European Protestantism. The French King had disillusioned many, including French Huguenots living in England, with his politic conversion to Catholicism. By 1612, with Henry IV dead, Henry Stuart had set up a network of agents abroad and appears to have been on the verge of heading his own Protestant campaign. On his death-bed Prince Henry had given orders for a number of private papers to be burnt perhaps as a measure to protect those who may have been incriminated by his grand schemes. Certainly his militaristic plans were the subject of intense speculation. After his death the Venetian ambassador reminisced that 'his whole talk was of arms and war'.[15]

The international appeal of Prince Henry's Protestant ambitions, suggested already by his popularity with the French Huguenots, is further illustrated by the number of German Princes that grouped themselves around him.[16] Among these was the Count Palatine who was to marry Prince Henry's sister. He had been primed to take a leading role alongside the Prince in the European Protestant crusade envisaged by such men as William Fennor in his poem, 'A description of the Palsgraues Countrey' which was declaimed before the royal family a short time before Henry fell ill. Fennor spoke of:

> Five Princes in this iron age suruiue,
> which makes it seeme the siluer worlde againe:
> To match them hardly shall we finde out fiue

[15]CSPV,XII (1610-13),450; Strong (1986),pp.56,74; Williamson,p.151.

[16]CSPV,XI (1607-10),469. Some of the Protestant Princes of Germany would also have preferred Prince Henry as leader because they had no wish to 'aggrandise France'.

yet weell forbeare to speake of *France* or
Spaine,
Fiue heires, fiue youths, fiue kinsmen, and fiue
Princes,
Of one Religion, though in fiue Provinces [...?]
Each of these are their Countries joyfull hope,
friends to the Gospell, foes to th'Diuell and
Pope.

Strong has identified the five as the Prince of Hesse, the Prince of Brunswick, the Prince of Brandenburg, the Count Palatine and Prince Henry. The English Prince was related through his mother Anne of Denmark to a number of German Protestant Princes including the Dukes of Brunswick and of Hesse. From the 1590s there had been a steady stream of visits by German princelings to the English court. Prince Henry was particularly close to Frederic Ulric (1591-1634), son of the Duke of Brunswick, with whom he corresponded from 1604 and who visited England in 1610, staying with Henry at St. James's Palace. Otto, Prince of Hesse, visited during the summer of 1611, making an unsuccessful bid for the hand of the Princess Elizabeth. His retinue included Henry, Count of Nassau, who was to influence Henry in his opposition to the Savoy Catholic marriage proposed by James.[11]

The mutual ambitions of these men were, at least temporarily, neutralized by the Prince's death. Frederick, Count Palatine could now only follow Henry's effigy and coffin in the funeral convoy. He walked directly after the chief mourner, coming between Prince Charles and his twelve assistant mourners. Thus the Count was accorded a status which might be classified as 'second chief mourner', a role unique in royal funeral

[11]Strong (1986),pp.77-9;83. Nassau was to take part in the Prince's funeral procession with a large retinue. See Nichols (1828),II,494.

processions. He was attended by his own group of eleven attendants, who followed the assistant mourners. These men included Count Lewis de Nassau and Count Wigenstein.[11]

Similarly, members of the Prince's household who had shared his military ambitions, could now only register their neo-chivalric role in the context of the funeral. Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex (1591-1646), for example, walked as assistant to the chief mourner in the Prince's funeral procession and offered the gauntlets in the church service.

All these men experienced an exaggerated sense of loss, partly because for them Prince Henry had no heir but also because his death had been untimely and unheroic. Even more than Sidney's death, Henry's demise was difficult to present in an heroic light.

The elegies and sermons abound with personations offered in an attempt to place and understand the Prince's sudden death: he is seen as Abner, Josiah, Alexander, Marcellus and the Black Prince. Henry II of France is offered as one who was `slaine in like sort'; yet even his death, fatally wounded as he was while taking part in martial sports, was more heroic than

[11]The Prince's death was also lamented in Paris. Yet, while the Catholic Louis XIII put the French court into mourning, he hesitated over sending an official to console with James. No French ambassador appeared in the funeral procession. See Winwood,III,410. Ambassadors were sent to offer the condolences of the Duke of Guise and the Prince of Conti. See McClure,I,402.

Prince Henry's.[39] Shakespeare and Fletcher are arguably exploring the implications of Prince Henry's death in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* where the demise of Arcite thrown from his horse demonstrates how perilous chivalric values are in the face of time and chance.[40] David Bergeron argues that his death supplied the emotional impulse for *The Duchess of Malfi* (1614).[41]

Many of Henry's elegists sought to transpose Prince Henry's death into the realms of chivalric honour and glory. The neo-Spenserian `The Olympian Catastrophe', written by Sir Arthur Gorges (1557-1625), seems, for example, to be an attempt to create a chivalric context for Prince Henry's inglorious death.[42] Gorges, who was aggressively anti-Catholic, lamented the loss of Prince Henry, the anticipated leader of the

[39]Sir William Alexander, *An Elegie on the Death of Prince Henrie* (Edinburgh: Andro Hart, 1612). On the elegies, see Nichols (1828),II,504-512; Dennis Kay, *Melodious Tears: The English Funeral from Spenser to Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990),pp.124-203; John W. Draper, *The Funeral Elegy and the Rise of Romanticism* (New York: New York University, 1929; repr. New York: Octagon Books, 1967),pp.28-30; Parry (1981),p.88; Williamson,pp.171-92.

[40]William Shakespeare and John Fletcher, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. by Eugene M. Waith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); J. R. Mulryne, '"Here's Unfortunate Revels": War and Chivalry in Plays and Shows at the Time of Prince Henry Stuart', in J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring, eds., *War, Literature and the Arts in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1989),p.184. *The Two Noble Kinsmen* was first performed in 1613 or early 1614.

[41]David M. Bergeron, 'The Wax Figures in *The Duchess of Malfi*', *Studies in English Literature*, 18 (1978),331-9 (p.333). See also Michael Neill, 'Monuments and ruins as symbols in *The Duchess of Malfi*', *Themes in Drama* 4 (1981),71-87 (pp.76-7).

[42]`The Olympian Catastrophe' was in fact a re-working of a poem begun in honour of the Prince in 1610. Gorges, a cousin of Ralegh, was a Gentleman of the Prince's Privy Chamber from 1611. See Strong (1986),p.41.

Protestant crusade that he yearned to take part in. In the poem, he delights in recreating an image of Prince Henry who appears resplendent in full armour and excels against all challengers in the martial feats held in the Olympian fields. Yet the fact of Henry's inglorious death remains difficult to deal with. The Prince is suddenly snatched away by Fate who weakly argues that he will gain a richer crown in heaven and will not live long enough to sin. He will be no Hannibal, Marcellus, Scipio or Nero. Instead, Gorges insists on choosing the personation of a noble warrior who died in battle as an image for his Prince: `New Troy, her Prince, James wayles his Hector heire'. In death Prince Henry was, however, no Hector.

In the context of the funeral procession, Prince Henry's death was rendered more heroic by the inclusion of musical instruments appropriate to a military hero. Drums, suitably covered with black cloth, accompanied the mourners, as they had done at the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney.[43]

Posthumous Glory: James, Henry and a Conflict Resolved

The disparity between the kind of funeral which might have been expected for Prince Henry and the elaborate one that he was given is further thrown into relief by evidence suggesting antagonism between James and his son during the latter's lifetime.

[43]Nichols (1828),I,494. See chapter 1,p.33.

Some testimonies need to be taken with a pinch of salt because of the probable bias of their exponents. For example, Godfrey Goodman (1583-1655), Bishop of Gloucester, wrote of Prince Henry, `truly I think he was a little self-willed, which caused the less mourning for him'.[10] Goodman was, however, a High Anglican of Romanish tendencies and his *History of the Court of King James* was written retrospectively. His opinion does gain support from Arthur Wilson's account of the reign of James I but it must not be forgotten that Wilson was strongly prejudiced against the Stuarts. Describing James's attitude towards his son at the time of the *Barriers* (1610), Wilson wrote:[11]

> For as yet the King could discover nothing in him but the harmless and wanton innocence that commonly accompanies youth, being of a light nature and soon blown away. But how far the Kings fears (like thick clouds) might afterwards blind the eye of his Reason, when he saw him (as he thought) too high mounted in the peoples love, and of an alluring spirit, to decline his paternall affection to him, and bring him to the lowest condition he fell in, may be the subject of my fears but not of my pen.

Yet Wilson, too, was writing long after the event and had particular reasons for disparaging James.

Contemporary evidence is available, however, to support Wilson's assertion that James tried to contain the public display of his son while he was alive.[12] Reporting on the

[10]Godfrey Goodman, *The Court of King James the First*, ed. by John S. Brewer, 2 vols (London: [n. pub.], 1839),I,251.

[11]Wilson (1653),p.52. Arthur Wilson's patron was the staunchly Protestant third Earl of Essex who had been a member of Prince Henry's household and who was to command the Parliamentary forces in the Civil War.

[12]Parry (1981),p.94; Williamson,p.43.

celebrations of Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales, the Venetian ambassador noted the King's desire to limit the overweening pride of his son and the impact Prince Henry would make on the citizenry of London. `The King would not allow him on this occasion, nor yet on his going to Parliament, to be seen on horse-back.' Foscarini gives two possible explanations for James's behaviour: 'the reason is expense or, as some say, because they did not desire to exalt him too high'.[10] Carleton, writing to Edmondes after the event, confirms the relative retraint of the festivities, and reiterates the need to conserve funds as the reason. A horse-back entry would have constituted a pointed visual parallel to the royal entry ritual which usually appertained only to reigning monarchs. The people of London had witnessed only two such entries in the recent past: the celebration of James's accession in 1604 and the state visit of Christian IV of Denmark in 1606.

In the event, Prince Henry entered the City of London by water. The Thames's great importance as England's main trade route and source of the City's wealth would have given symbolic weight to the Prince's entry.[11] Nevertheless, a water-borne procession effectively reduced the size of the audience, distanced the Prince from the spectators, and avoided the use of triumphal archways. James also circumvented the possibility of Prince Henry being displayed to the London populace in solitary splendour by travelling

[10]CSPV,XI (1603-7),507.

[11]Knowles,p.166.

with him the short distance by water from Whitehall.[10] Here James was deliberately flouting tradition, evidence that he was concerned about his son's popularity.

Perhaps the surest way in which James sabotaged his son's performance was by not informing the City about the Prince's entry by water until just six days before the event was to take place.[11] The account of the festivities organized by the City, `London's Love to the Royal Prince', smarts with references to the lack of available time to make sufficiently splendid arrangements: `London's Cheefe Magistrate the Lord Maior, with his worthie Bretheren the Aldermen, having very short and sudden intelligence thereof; after some small consultation, [...] they determined to meete him in such good manner as the brevitie of time would then permit them'.[11] The strength of feeling involved is indicated by further references within the text. Corinea, the personification of the Province of Cornwall, addressed the Prince thus during his water progress: `The shortnes of time hath ben no meane bridle to their [the City officials'] zealous forwardness, which else would have appeared in more flowing and aboundant manner. Neuerthelesse, out of this little limitation, let me humbly entreat you to accept their boundlesse love,'.[11] Without pointing its finger at the King, the City publicly declined responsibility for the relative moderation of the proceedings.

[10]Nichols (1828),II,361.

[11]Strong (1986),p.153.

[11]Nichols (1828),II,317.

[11]Nichols (1828),II,320.

If James was unwilling to give his son any opportunity to inflate his warrior-hero self-image, why did he allow the investiture to go ahead at all? At first he was reluctant for it to take place, preferring to hang on to Prince Henry's revenues which were proving very useful in the payment of Crown debts. However, a worsening financial situation necessitated a shift in policy and Salisbury, the Lord Treasurer, drew up a plan which linked the granting of a subsidy by Parliament to the investiture of the Prince of Wales. Parliament had strong affection for Prince Henry, taking great pride in what he represented and, with some qualifications, agreed to the proposals.[13]

Why should James have so wished to circumscribe the public image of his son? Prince Henry was his heir and the production of a legitimate male successor was closely related to the question of the royal prerogative in James's interpretation of the theory of the Divine Right of Kings.[14] The reality of their relationship differed, however, from the political ideal. James's attitude to his son was, perhaps, partly motivated by a natural desire not to be eclipsed by him in his own lifetime. Any such wishes were greatly exaggerated, however, by the political conflict which centred around King and Prince. The militarism of Prince Henry, noted already, was in direct opposition to the peace policies of his

[13]Williamson,pp.60-3.

[14]G. R. Elton., 'The Divine Right of Kings', in *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government*, ed. by G. R. Elton, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974-92),II (1974),pp.193-214.

father."[15] Furthermore, Henry's promise of active intervention in Europe held much greater popular appeal for many than James's less glamorous policies which aimed at peaceful reconciliation. The Prince's court attracted both an older generation of Elizabethan militant Protestants, who bore the mantle of Sidney; and energetic young men, eager for military honour. The contrast with his father's court was underlined by the reputation Prince Henry's court gained for discipline, virtue and chivalric ideals."[16] James, who understood the relationship between ceremony and power, needed to curb his son's popularity by controlling the level of his public display.

Jonson's entertainment, *The Barriers*, dramatizes the antagonism between Henry's militarism and James's pacificism."[17] The masque was staged on 6 January 1610 and marked Henry's first formal bearing of arms as a prelude to his creation. This was at a time when James himself was wavering towards military intervention in Europe, heightening the tension between a son hungry for action and a dilatory father. The performance was set against a backdrop of international tension over the succession to the Duchy of Cleves. Henry IV planned to march on Cleves in May 1610 as the prelude to a campaign against the Habsburgs and James was considering getting involved by sending a force of English and

[15]The conflict is traced by Williamson,p.171. On the peace policies, see Strong (1986),p.83.

[16]Parry (1981),p.93. See chapter 6,pp.205-6.

[17]Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (London: University of California Press, 1973),pp.159-164.

Scots soldiers already serving in the Netherlands, perhaps with Prince Henry making his military debut. James, however, was still wary of abandoning his peace policies and of bestowing an opportunity for the attainment of prodigious glory upon his son."

Prince Henry cast himself as Moeliades, an 'Anagramme [which] maketh *Miles A DEO*'." Thus styling himself as God's knight, Prince Henry is called forth by the Lady of the Lake to revitalize chivalry, which had fallen into decay at the English court."

Moeliades, or Meliadus, is guided to his tent and there Merlin presents him with a shield bequeathed to him by the fates. Merlin then presents Prince Henry with a series of paradigms of kingly behaviour. The first group emphasizes a defensive role in kings, a role which is symbolically in keeping with the gift of the shield (l.165). It is, however, in the description of the second group of warrior kings, from Richard, Coeur de Lion, to Henry V, that the fire and enthusiasm of Merlin's speech is located (ll.225-298)."

"Parry (1993),pp.93-107. For an account of the Cleves crisis, see S. R. Gardiner, *A History of England from the Accession of James I*, 2 vols (London, [n. pub.], 1883),II,93-101.

"William Drummond, `Teares, on the Death of Moeliades', quoted in Strong (1986),p.141.

"The decline of chivalry was a commonplace topic in chivalric literature. See Mulryne (1989),p.174. The Arthurian subject is indicative of Prince Henry's control over Jonson's masque. Jonson usually scorned such subject matter as outdated. See Parry (1993),p.94.

"All line references to *The Barriers* and *Oberon* are from C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson eds., *Ben Jonson*, 11 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925-1954),VII (1941; repr.

The catalogue of war heroes culminates with a eulogy to James, shifting attention briefly from the Prince as dramatic subject on the stage to the traditional focus of the court masque, the monarch seated in the audience.[11] The final example held up for Prince Henry to emulate must, of course, be his own father: James whose golden reign has joined the `Rose and Thistle'. Yet the praise rendered to James for restoring the Navy at the climax of Merlin's speech is equivocal (ll.349-56). Jonson was in fact pointing to an area in which there had been recent and public conflict between King and Prince and highlighting the gulf between the pacifist King and the military tastes of his son. James had allowed the Navy to decline alarmingly since the death of his predecessor partly because of cost but also because he was more interested in policies of peace than preparing for war. By the time the decision came to revitalize the Navy, it was Prince Henry who provided the motivating force.[11] Thus, in total, *The Barriers* dramatized the conflict between the war-hungry Prince and the peace-loving King.

Tehthys' Festival, the masque for Prince Henry's creation (1610), has been shown to be largely concerned with curbing his aspirations. In *Oberon* (New Year 1611) while the focus is

1963).

[11]Strong (1986) suggests that Prince Henry, who was taught perspective by Salomon de Caus, may himself have been responsible for this new way in which perspective was used to focus the eye on the central masquer,pp.169-70.

[11]Simon Adams, `Spain or the Netherlands? The Dilemmas of Early Stuart Foreign Policy', in *Before the English Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Politics and Government*, ed. by Howard Tomlinson (London: Macmillan, 1983),pp.79-101 (p.84); CSPV,XII (1610-13),264; Williamson,p.49.

placed much more squarely on James than in *The Barriers*, something of the tension described in the earlier masque remains. The pacifist James is uncomfortably cast as King Arthur and the final compliment in the closing speech is paid to Prince Henry as if he is already breaking free from the restraining influence of his father:

> That all that shall tonight behold the rites
> Performed by princely Oberon and these knights
> May, without stop, point out the proper heir
> Designed so long to Arthur's crowns and chair.
> (ll.365-8)

I have described something of the grand Protestant campaign Prince Henry was planning just before his fatal illness. There is evidence to suggest that he intended to act in direct opposition to his father who wanted a Catholic bride for his son as part of his marriage alliance policy. As a prelude to his campaign, Prince Henry had intended to accompany his sister on a tour of Germany and select for himself a Protestant bride, thereby forestalling his father's plans in an act of supreme defiance and independence.

In view of the crisis towards which events were fast careering, it is perhaps unsurprising that Henry's sudden death engendered a certain amount of suspicion of poisoning and that James himself was not immune from the charge.[11] In an elaborate display of objective enquiry, James appointed lords of the Privy Council to supervise the opening of the body and the doctors in attendance included that of the

[11]Williamson,pp.166-9; Akrigg (1962),p.133; Strong (1986), pp.54-5.

Palatine."[11] The autopsy reported no traces of foul play but the rumour of poisoning persisted."[12]

Death certainly removed the threat his son had become to James's peace policies. Only after Henry's death could James unequivocally celebrate the Prince's life. Although he had spent the last half-decade trying to contain his son's ambitions, it was now politically expedient for James to place his son centre stage: he needed to fulfil the expectations of the nation and to manage its grief. Prince Henry could not have ordered a more splendid funeral if he had been in charge of the arrangements himself: he was presented in effigy as if he had been a reigning monarch and was finally permitted the progress through the streets of London that he had been denied at his investiture. It is heavily ironic that Prince Henry achieved such status only in his funeral. James would allow Prince Henry to benefit from a power-conferring ritual performance only when his death had rendered that power impotent. The large presence of Protestant nobles in the funeral procession meant that Prince Henry was honoured in the international context that his ambitions deserved but at the same time the premature truncation of those ambitions was underlined. For the moment the illusion of political consensus created by the funeral procession was useful in assuaging the pangs of thwarted ambition in Prince Henry's followers. James could willingly permit the presence of the German princes in the ceremony since their plans could no

[11]Cornwallis,p.75; Peck,I,204.

[12]See, for example, the assertions made in Wilson (1653),pp.62-3; CSPV,XII (1610-13),470; Nichols (1828),p.487.

longer threaten his hopes for peace.

Through the funeral pageantry James was able to reinscribe his relationship with Henry. The magnificent funeral was the final gift of the loving and devoted father to his cherished and obedient son. Death once more allowed James to idealize his family relationships and restored Prince Henry as obedient son to his natural father.[11] The obsequies of Prince Henry is another clear example of James mobilizing bias in his favour through funeral pageantry and modifying the ritual traditions of royal funerals to suit his purposes.

The day of the funeral passed without disruption. Foscarini reports that the huge procession 'passed in perfect order and filled the whole road, more than a mile long, from the palace of St. James to the Church of Westminster, so that as the head of the procession entered the Church the tail had not yet left the Palace. The crowd was marvellous. All the houses filled with ladies and the nobility'.[12]

The Funeral Effigy as Monument

Although no monument to Prince Henry was built, plans for one were made. On 29 December, Foscarini reported, 'a rich tomb of marble and porphyry is being prepared, and many statues, it

[11]On the appearance of Prince Henry in portraits idealizing the King's family after the Prince's death, see Goldberg,pp.90-7.

[12]CSPV,XII (1610-13),468.

will take a long time and cost much. Meantime, the leaden coffin has been covered with velvet richly embroidered with gold and pearls'.[10] Interesting is Foscarini's comment that the projected tomb was to incorporate many statues. Images were once again the legitimate province of tomb-makers. These statues would, however, never be carved and neither would the Prince be commemorated with a tomb effigy. We have seen how the magnificent display of the funeral accomplished the aims of honouring the dead Prince's memory, providing a focus for the nation's grief and reinscribing James's relationship with his son. The success of the funeral pageantry took the urgency out of the need to provide a tomb. While the added cost no doubt contributed to the lack of will to see the project through. Further, the post-funeral display of the funeral effigy, a practice established at least since 1607 when, ironically, Prince Henry himself had taken his uncle, the King of Denmark, on a visit to the tombs and effigies at Westminster Abbey, precluded the need for a monument.

The funeral effigy of Prince Henry remained on display in its hearse in the Abbey church for ten days after the funeral services.[11] Then, 'decked and trimmed with cloathes, as he went when he was alive, robes, collar, crowne, golden rodde in his hand, &c. it was set up in a chamber of the [...] Chappell at Westminster amongst the Representations of the Kings and Queenes his famous predecessors, where it remaineth for ever to be seene'.[11] Thus, James continued his policy of

[10]CSPV,XII (1610-13),469.

[11]Sandford,p.529.

[11]Nichols (1828),p.503.

exaggerating the honours accorded to his son now that he was safely dead. All the other effigies in the Abbey chapel were of kings and queens.

It is not clear exactly how the royal effigies were displayed, whether upright or recumbent, and if lying down, upon what? I have not come across any direct evidence as to what became of Prince Henry's hearse after the ten-day period of display in the Abbey. It was normal practice, however, for the hearse to be taken down at this stage and its constituent materials divided up and distributed amongst the heralds as part of their fees. This would occur at the funeral of Henry's mother, Queen Anne, five years later and probably the same thing happened with the Prince's hearse."[11] It would seem, then, that the hearse was not transferred to the chapel with the funeral effigy and that the latter was displayed alone."[12]

The framework of the Prince's effigy was jointed, as the acount recording the work of Richard Loons, King's Joiner, makes clear:

> Item for makinge the bodye of a figure for the repʳsentation of His Highnes wᵗ several joints both in the arms legges and bodie to be moved to sundrie accions first for the Carriage in the Chariot and then for the standinge and the settinge uppe the same in the Abbye with my attendance on the same work."[13]

"[11]See chapter 9,pp.279-80.

"[12]In any case, the hearse was probably not constructed from long-lasting materials. See Maclagan,p.34. The figures on James's hearse were made of plaster of Paris and white calico drapery.

"[13]P.R.O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. vol.555, cited by Hope,p.555.

The joints found at the hips and toes have suggested to some that the effigy was designed to be displayed upright once the catafalque had been removed (figure 84).[75] Martin Holmes concludes, however, that the joints are too few and not ideally situated for the figure to take up a life-like position.[76] He convincingly argues that their purpose was rather to facilitate taking the figure to pieces to aid dressing and relocation, such as when the effigy was moved from the funeral chariot to the hearse in the Abbey. Holmes further argues that the head, if his identification is correct, was not designed to fit onto the figure in any way.[77] The sculptor responsible for the head was Abraham Vanderdort who had been official curator of the Prince's considerable collection of coins and medals. He approached the design as a medallist rather than a sculptor, seeing the subject in terms of its profile rather than in its full-face aspect. Vanderdort also seems to have worked in isolation, failing to consult the craftsmen responsible for constructing the remainder of the effigy, and thus the finished head could not be fixed to the body in any way. The only solution was to put the head in place when the figure was lying down on a firm flat surface.

[75]The headless funeral effigy of Prince Henry still survives at Westminster Abbey but is in relatively poor condition and is not on public display.

[76]Martin Holmes, *A Carved Wooden Head of Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales*, transcript of a lecture given by Martin Holmes in 1986, held in the library at Westminster Abbey (Box: Royal Funeral Effigies),pp.1-11 (p.9); Gittings,p.223.

[77]The head appears to have been stolen shortly before George Vertue's visit to the Abbey in 1725. He remembered seeing it on a previous occasion, describing it as 'curiously done and very like him', Holmes,p.4.

84. The funeral effigy of Henry Prince of Wales, Westminster Abbey.

Cornwallis provides evidence that supports this theory, elaborating on the placing of Prince Henry's effigy on the funeral chariot for the procession, 'it was laid on the back in [sic] the coffin, and fast bound to the same, the head thereof being supported by two cushions, just as it was drawne along the streets in the funerall chariot'."

After the funeral the Prince's effigy must, then, have been displayed lying down, with the head carefully positioned but not secured in any way. This would certainly have aided the thieves who stole away the effigy's creation robes in 1616." The horizontal posture of the funeral effigy, while being less striking than an upright display, would, however, have produced a strong visual parallel of a recumbent tomb effigy. Thus both visually and functionally, the funeral effigy took over from the monument and tomb effigy.

"Cornwallis,p.85; Peck,I,205.

"Holmes,p.11.

THE FUNERAL OF ANNE OF DENMARK (1619)

The Vulnerability of Ritual: Anne's Lying-in-State and Funeral Procession

The Queen consort, Anne of Denmark, died on 2 March 1619 at Hampton Court. She was unpopular with her husband and also with many of her people, not least because of her Catholicism. This had been very publicly aired when she refused to take communion at her coronation.[1] Her death did not provoke the intense focused emotion caused by the death of her eldest son five years before and her funerals lacked the cohesive unity displayed at his. The funerals were marred by factional interest and the desire to cut costs, and they function as a clear example of the potential vulnerability of funeral pageantry.[2] James had no need to work to create a display of political consensus at Anne's funeral as she was not a key political figure.

On 9 March, after the body had been disembowelled, embalmed and leaded, it was taken from Hampton Court to Denmark House for the lying-in-state ceremony.[3] Although it was conveyed by barge and under cover of darkness, the transfer

[1]Ethel Carleton Williams, *Anne of Denmark* (London: Longman, 1970),pp.52-6,82-3,111,164-5.

[2]On the vulnerability of French royal funeral processions, see Giesey (1960),p.9.

[3]Sandford,p.526. Denmark House was the name given to Somerset House, after Anne of Denmark to whom it was assigned under James. When it was erected in the 1540s it had been named after Lord Protector Somerset. See Smuts,p.54 n.1.

was effected with 'great solemnity'. Twelve barges, together with other vessels, were assembled on the river at Hampton Court. 'Many Countesses and divers other great Ladyes were commanded to repayre to Hampton Court to give their attendance upon ye Corpse'. The encoffined corpse was brought down in a procession comprising these noblewomen together with heralds Norroy and Richmond who marshalled the women into the waiting barges, according to their rank. The water-borne convoy arrived at the stairs of Somerset House at 8.00 p.m. where it was met by the Earls of Pembroke and Arundel, accompanied by other members of the Privy Council. The corpse, attended by these gentlemen, was then conveyed inside. Three chambers had been prepared for the lying-in-state of the body at Somerset House. In the bedchamber there was 'a certain frame in the manner of a bed', nine feet long, nine feet high and seven feet in breadth. Four pillars supported the canopy which was topped with plumes of black feathers. The coffin was placed in this magnificent bed of state to await the funeral.

More than two months was to pass before the funeral took place on 13 May 1619, much longer then the period of one month that had become traditional practice by the time of Elizabeth's obsequies.[1] The indelicacy of the continued delay was noted by Chamberlain who reported on 17 April that, 'The day of the Quene's funerall is not yet set down, though yt be more then time yt were don'. The funeral, already postponed once from its original date, just after

[1]BL, Harley MS 5176 fol.236.

Easter, to 29 April, would not take place until 13 May. By that time, the noblemen and other mourners, informed by Lancaster that their presence was required, would already have been long in the capital.[1]

With the continued delay the court ladies involved in the lying-in-state ritual began to get indecorously impatient and 'grow wearie of watching'. There began to be 'talke of the Ladies watching and matching there by turnes in such sort as is neither comly nor convenient for the place or person they attend'. The hordes of people reported to be flocking to Denmark House to view the coffin further contributed to the progressively unseemly ambience of this lying-in-state ritual. Chamberlain comments, 'there is more concourse than when she was living'.[1]

Among those who were ill-convenienced by the continued delay in the staging of Queen Anne's funeral were London's theatre companies. As Chamberlain reported, the procrastination was 'to the great hindrance of our players, which are forbidden to play so long as her body is above ground'.[1]

What lay behind this protracted and undignified delay?

[1]McClure,II,220-236; Parry (1981),p.256; CA, Nayler,p.6.

[1]McClure,II,224,232.

[1]McClure,II,222. Members of the Queen's own theatre company would also take part in the funeral ceremony, grouped in a section referred to as 'The Queens inferiour sorte of Servants' together with the gardeners, shoemakers and plumbers, CA, Nayler,p.8.

Part of the reason was financial. When his wife died James directed that £20,000, or more if necessary, should be transferred from the Treasury to the Master of the Great Wardrobe, Lionel Cranfield, to pay for the ceremony. The money was not immediately forthcoming, however, and on 17 April Chamberlain reports, 'they are driven to shifts for monie, and talke of melting the Quenes golden plate and putting yt into coine: besides that the commissioners for her jewells and other moveables make offer to sell or pawne divers of them to good value'. Meanwhile servants were pilfering silver, plate and even vestments from the Queen's private chapel. Many of Anne's jewels were found to be missing when an inventory was finally taken.[1]

Time was required to settle the vexed question of how the funeral of a queen who was consort of a living monarch should be performed. It was, after all, the first since the funeral of Jane Seymour in 1537. Shortly after the Queen's death, 'the Erle of Worcester, Lord Privy Seal, the Erle of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain of his Majestie's Household and the Erle of Arundell with divers more of the Privie Counsell repayred to Hampton Court for the ordering things according to his Majesties Commandment'.[2] These men summoned members of the College of Arms to give them advice on procedure. On 18 March, Garter, Norroy and the rest of the College of Arms debated the question of which banners should appear in the funeral procession. They were concerned that the difference between the funeral of a

[1]McClure,II,232,240; Williams (1970),p.203.

[2]CA, Nayler,pp.1-22.

sovereign queen and a queen consort should be marked in Anne's funeral procession by the omission of some of the funeral hatchments. Anne would be honoured only with a coat of arms, crest, sword and shield; there would be no helmet or gauntlets.[10]

Although by 10 March the Privy Councillors had approved a plan, drawn up by the heralds with details of the numbers and identity of the mourners, on 17 April Chamberlain reports that there was a quarrel over who should take the role of chief mourner. 'Lady Arundell' he writes 'professes not to give place to the Countesse of Nottingham, that pretends yt in her husband's right, who upon surrendring of the Admiraltie had a privilege graunted him to be *promus comes* during his life: the Countesse of Northumberland and divers others are likewise saide to take the same exception to her, and will by no means go behind, so that to stint some part of the strife (yf yt be possible) the old marchioness of Northampton is sent for yf by any meanes she can supplie the place'. In the event the Countess of Arundel acted as chief mourner, although Chamberlain was unsure as to whether this was 'in her owne right, or as supplieng the place of the Lady Elizabeth'.[11]

When the funeral finally took place the resultant display

[10]CA, Nayler,p.6.

[11]McClure,II,232-3,237. CA, Nayler,p.20. The Countess of Arundel was Aletheia Talbot, wife of Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel; the Marchioness of Northampton was Helena, widow of William Parr, first Marquis of Northampton (d.1571) and wife of Sir Thomas Gorges. See Williams (1970),p.203.

was, in Chamberlain's eyes at least, far short of impressive: 'It were to no purpose to make any long description of the funeral which was but a drawling, tedious sight, more remarqueable for number than for any other singularitie [...] and though the number of Lordes and Ladies were very great, yet me thought altogether they made but a poore shew, which perhaps because they were apparelled all alike, or that they came laggering all along even tired with the length of the way and the weight of their clothes'.[11] This may be a biased interpretation but Chamberlain offers evidence to support the view that others, too, may have noticed failings in this display of funeral pageantry, despite the lengthy negotiations that had taken place. The sheer number of disparate groups involved made the funeral procession vulnerable to disruption and disputation.

Some Catholic Ladies, who had been nominated as mourners refused, 'to staine their profession with going to our church or service upon any shew of solemnitie, a straunge boldnes and such as wold not have bene so easilie digested in some times'.[11] More significantly, despite all their careful planning, James's advisors overlooked the representatives of the City when they drew up plans for the funeral convoy. Complaints must have been lodged and James set about making hasty reparation for the crime of offending the honour of the City. On Trinity Sunday, the

[11]McClure,II,237. For funeral procession participants, see Nichols (1928),III,538-542.

[11]McClure,II,233.

Sunday after Anne's funeral, 'Paules Crosse mourned being hangd with blacke cloth and scutcheons of the Quenes armes, and all our aldermen and officers of this towne came thether in blacke [...] Because they were forgotten or neglected at the funerall, the King to please them would needs have yt don now'.[14] This is illustrative of the two-way operation of ritual performance. Anne's funeral could not just take the form that James and his government wished it to take: they were constrained to stage a second ritual to meet and contain the expectations of those who traditionally took part. The failure to include them in the original procession had destroyed the propensity towards co-operation which usually characterized ceremonial occasions.

James, himself, seems to have directly contributed to the subversion of his Queen's funeral. In accordance with custom, James was absent from the funeral itself, remaining at Newmarket and then Theobalds. When he did return to London, however, Chamberlain reports that he was dressed more like a wooer than a mourner, wearing 'a suit of watchet [pale blue] satten laid with silver lace, with a blew and white feather'. Chamberlain notes the indecorum of James's appearance juxtaposed with the black mourning worn by the foreign ambassadors newly arrived to offer their condolences. While black may have been considered an improper colour for a king, James could have worn the traditional royal mourning colour of purple. In any case, Chamberlain reports, he had donned black 'for the Archduke

[14]McClure,II,241.

or Cardinal of Guise, or both'.[15]

Despite its cost, which was in the region of £30,000, Queen Anne's funeral procession completely failed to present an impression of order and unity. On this occasion, ceremony and power were divorced.

The Funeral Effigy and the Burial of the Viscera: A Shift towards Catholic Ritual Forms?

The only element of the whole funeral proceedings which attracted the praise of Chamberlain was the Abbey hearse in which was displayed Anne's funeral effigy (figure 85).[16] It was traditional for queens consort to have an effigy. The first on record is that of Anne of Bohemia, the first wife of Richard II who died in 1394.[17] Effigies also survive of Katherine de Valois and Elizabeth of York. An account of the funeral procession of the latter describes the effigy lying upon the coffin in the funeral chariot 'clothed in y' very robes of estate of y' quene / having her very ryche crowne on her hed her here about her shoulder / hir scepter in her right hand / and her fyngers well garneshed w' rynge of golde & pysous stones (& on every ende of y' cofres kneled a gentelman hussher by all the way to

[15]McClure,II,329,391.

[16]McClure,II,237; Sandford,p.64.

[17]Hope,p.544.

85. The hearse and funeral effigy Queen Anne of Denmark, from Wagner (1978),pl.XV.

Westminster)'.[18] Jane Seymour, unsurprisingly, was the only one of Henry VIII's wives to have a representation carried at her funeral (1537) the last occasion an effigy had been used for a queen consort before Anne's funeral.[19]

Inigo Jones was responsible for the hearse design and he took the opportunity to apply neo-classical taste to the traditional forms. The hearse had a canopy, or baldachin, supported by mannerist caryatids rather then classical orders. The overall form was semi-architectural, carved in stone rather than the ephemeral wooden structure of the Elizabethan hearses.[10] The tomb-like setting in which the funeral effigy lay was underlined by Jones's decision to place a symbol of dynasticism on the canopy above the effigy. It was a golden tree laden with fruit, the symbol of dynastic fertility that the Queen had carried in the Masque of Blackness. Such decor would not have been out of place on a permanent tomb monument.[11]

There is some evidence to suggest that Jones's hearse was taken down a couple of months after the funeral. According to one account, the heralds and the Dean of Westminster became involved in a dispute over who had the right to the valuable materials used in the construction of the hearse. In this account the hearse was taken down on 12 July, 'and

[18]CA, I Series XI, cited by Hope,pp.545-6.

[19]Hope,p.547-8.

[10]Peacock,p.2; Parry (1981),p.256; Gittings,p.228. Wagner (1978) attributes the hearse design to Maximilian Colt,p.64.

[11]Parry (1981),p.256; Wagner (1978),pl.XV. It seems likely that the Jones plans were not carried out and that the hearse constructed was that illustrated in figure 85.

then, after good proof that it belonged to them [the heralds], was divided at the Office of Arms amongst us'. The heralds's claim was upheld by the Commissioners for the Earl Marshal, with the King's consent.[11]

According to another source, however, Queen Anne's hearse was still in place, by the Queen's grave, when Cromwell took control of the Abbey in 1642.[13] This does not necessarily have to refer to Jones's original hearse, however. A second hearse-like structure may have been constructed in the Abbey to facilitate the continued display of Anne's effigy. Anne of Denmark did not receive a tomb and while the dynastic security of the Stuart regime may have conributed to the decision not to erect a monument in her honour, I would argue that, as in the case of Prince Henry Stuart, the funeral effigy took over the commemorative role of a tomb monument. A 1634 glazier's bill for new leading for the windows next to where, 'the kings and queenes statues are,' confirms that the funeral effigies were on display at least well into the 1630s.[14]

The odd juxtaposition between classical hearse and medieval funeral effigy, noted in relation to Prince Henry's obsequies, was tempered on this occasion by increased naturalism in the appearance of Anne's funeral effigy. Comparisons between the effigy and the royal portraits of

[11]Gittings,p.225.

[13]Stanley (1869),p.183.

[14]Parry (1981),p.256; Llewellyn, *Royal Body* (1990),p.228; WA, MS 41770.

Anne of Denmark which hang in the National Portrait Gallery have revealed that the two representations accord well. This supports the view that Anne's effigy, like earlier royal effigies, was fashioned from a death mask.[15] In addition, some trouble was taken to reproduce facial blemishes on Anne's effigy. A pimple on the left cheek of the wooden head was painstakingly sculpted by carving away the surrounding area. Similarly veins were represented on the face and breast (figures 86 and 87).[16] Such details would not be noticed by spectators during the funeral proceedings but would be apparent to the visitors to Westminster Abbey who beheld her effigy lying in its hearse. Once a post-funeral display function had been established for the funeral effigies, there was, perhaps, a greater desire to produce accurate portraits of deceased members of the royal family.

The clear increased naturalism of Anne's funeral effigy, which was hinted at in Elizabeth's, also fits in with the broad shift of attitude to the arts outlined in chapter 5.[17] For some the cultural influence of continental Renaissance and counter-Reformation suggested by Anne's effigy, may indeed have triggered suspicions of an insidious Catholic influence at court.

Another unusual aspect of Queen Anne's funeral proceedings may also have smacked of popery to those with a Puritan

[15]Howgrave-Graham,p.168. See chapter 5,pp.145,178-9.

[16]*Westminster Abbey*,p.20.

[17]Chapter 5,pp.180-1.

86. The funeral effigy of Anne of Denmark, Westminster Abbey, from W. H. St John Hope, 'On the funeral effigies of the Kings and Queens of England', *Archaeologia*, 40 part 2 (1907), pl.LXIV.

87. Detail of the funeral effigy of Anne of Denmark, Westminster Abbey.

bent. After the body had been disembowelled the viscera were encased in an urn covered with black and white drapery. They were buried separately on 5th March eight weeks before the funeral, at a location provided by the Dean of Westminster in a little chapel on the left at the top of the stairs going into the Henry VII Chapel. The charges for the funeral include an unspecified amount paid to Abraham Greene, 'Serjant Plumber', 'for one greate vessell to putt in the Bowells and inwarde partes w[ch] were sent to Westminster'.[10]

Separate burial of the heart and viscera was an English tradition dating back, at least, to the time of Henry I (d.1135). The King died at the castle of Lions or Lihun, Normandy, and his body was transported to Rouen where it was roughly disembowelled and embalmed. The corpse was transported to England and eventually buried at Reading but the entrails were buried at the church of St. Mary de Pratis, near Rouen.[11] Originally the reasons for separate burial seem to have been related to multiplication of the number of churches associated with the deceased either as shrines or as chantries set up to pray for the soul of the

[10]P.R.O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 556, cited by Hope,p.556.

[11]William of Malmesbury, *Chronicles of the Kings of England*, ed. by J. A. Giles (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1874); Hope,pp.521-2. On the French royal tradition of multiple burial, see Giesey (1960),p.20; J. Santiago, 'Les Funerailles Princières en France (Bourgogne et Orléans 1465-1468)' (unpublished thesis, University of Paris, 1981),pp.40-2, 191; Boureau (1988),pp.36,57-9; and Appendix II.

deceased.[10]

The practice continued in pre-Reformation England. Mary Tudor, who was given a Catholic-style funeral, received a multiple burial. Shortly after her death, 'she was opened by her Physicians and Surgeons, who took out her bowels, which were encoffin'd and buried solemnley in the Chappel, the heart being separately enclosed in a coffer with velvet, bound with silver'.[11] Subsequently there is no mention of division of the body or multiple burial for any royal until the death of Queen Anne. Elizabeth had had a horror of embalming and specifically requested that her body would not be opened. The delay before her burial necessitated by the elaborate preparations for her funeral may have made embalming essential but nowhere is there any mention of a separate, ritualized burial of the viscera. The separate burial of Anne's bowels may have been a deliberate concession to her Catholicism.

The nocturnal timing of the procession to transport Anne's bowels to Westminster may suggest an attempt to mute any potentially Catholic connotations of their separate burial, which did not take place until 9.00 p.m. In addition their conveyance was effected by barge, keeping the procession out of the streets. The account-writer states that all was done 'without ceremony'. The barge was met by a minimal reception committee, headed by Richmond herald bearing his

[10]White (1978),p.25. The heart of Arthur, Prince of Wales (d.1502) was buried at Ludlow while his body lies in Worcester cathedral.

[11]CA, Briscoe MS II fols 314-5.

coat of arms on his arm.[31] Was there then some hesitation about openly marking burial of the viscera with ritualized behaviour? Ironically, of course, while nocturnal processions were becoming very common, they too reeked of popery to some.

With the change in reign, any latent worries at court about the religious associations of ritual forms seem to have evaporated. Changes to royal funeral ritual effected at the obsequies of Anne's husband, James I, would further catholicize the ceremonies, making them barely distinguishable from their French counterparts.

[31]CA, Nayler,pp.3-4.

THE FUNERAL OF KING JAMES I (1625)

This chapter funeral begins with an analysis of the church service and goes on to deal with the lying-in-state ritual. In both cases the French royal funeral ritual provides an fruitful source for comparison and contrast. The funeral procession is considered towards the end of the chapter and then I go on to give a brief outline of royal funeral ritual post-1625. The discussion ends with a look at posthumous images of James.

THE CHURCH SERVICE

The Image of the King: Sermon, Effigy and Hearse

James I died on 27 March 1625 and his funeral took place just over six weeks later on 17 May.

My analysis of James's obsequies begins with the funeral sermon because it brings together a number of the cultural influences that manifested themselves in the course of the ceremonies. It is perhaps fitting that the sermon should have played such a central role on this occasion because during the Jacobean period the sermon had developed into an art form of which James himself had been particularly fond.[1] The sheer

[1] McClure,II,p.616; Parry (1981),pp.230-1. The Arminians disliked excessive preaching and attempted to suppress lectureships, emphasizing the sacraments instead, Tyacke,p.186. The 1604 Canons stated that sermons could only be preached on the catechism, the creed, the Ten Commandments or the Lord's Prayer. Funeral sermons were, however, exempt from this restriction. See Babbage,p.94. See also chapter 2,pp.66-7.

length of James's funeral sermon is indicative of its importance in the ritual proceedings; it lasted for two hours, as Prince Henry's had done.[1]

The sermon was delivered by John Williams (1585-1650), Bishop of Lincoln and Privy Councillor since 1621. Williams's religious allegiances were middle of the road. He was a Calvinist in doctrine but combined attendance at the sermons of the Puritan William Perkins with support for the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England. He was, however, to oppose the Laudian programme of ceremonial change. Williams was, nevertheless, the epitome of Jacobean moderation and not a Presbyterian revolutionary. The ceremonies that Laud was advocating were arguably against the law.[1]

Given Williams's religious persuasions it is interesting that the concept at the heart of his sermon was the image of the king, indicating the extent to which image-making had been rehabilitated by the official church. The sermon was entitled *Great Britain's Solomon* and celebrated James as a reincarnation of the Old Testament King. Solomon had received a solemn funeral in Jerusalem but 'hee had no Statue at all caried before him. That was peradventure scarce tolerable among the Jewes'. James, argued the Bishop, would provide a statue for Solomon and 'Solomon shall then arise in King James his Vertues'. Thus Williams characterized James as a modern

[1]CSPV,XII (1610-13),486.

[1]Tyacke,pp.209-210; Sommerville,pp.220-1; Lockyer,p.311.

monarch in whom Old Testament virtue was reborn.[4]

The association between James and Solomon was signalled at the very beginning of the reign. In the midst of his lament for Elizabeth, during his sermon preached at Paul's Cross on 27 March 1603, John Hayward looked forward to her successor: 'as *Salomon* succeeding *David* (unto which two in Isreal I compare these two in England for wisedome, pietye, and love to Gods house) we have and shall have [...] the heigh and mighty, King *James*'.[5] By the time of James's death, the association had become routine. Those who attended James's body at Denmark House in the days before the funeral procession, had already witnessed a sermon on a text from the Song of Solomon, 'Behold King Solomon Crowned' (3.11) preached by John Donne on 26 April 1625.[6] In this sermon Donne used the corpse of the King as a paradigm of mortality to set against the immortality of Christ, signified textually in the name and person of Solomon. The polarity of Solomon and the King in Donne's argument contrasts with Williams's technique of fashioning James an image of Solomon.

A physical representation of the statue of James as Solomon was present in the Abbey in the form of the 'lively image and

[4]John Williams, *Great Britain's Salomon: A Sermon Preached at the Magnificent Funerall of the most high and mighty King, James* ([London (?)]: J. Bill, 1625),pp.7-8; Peacock,p.3.

[5]Hayward,p.133. For other characterizations of James as Solomon in sermons, dedicatory epistles, poems and iconography throughout the reign, see Parry (1981),pp.29-31,231-2; Smuts,p.25.

[6]Evelyn M. Simpson and George R. Potter,eds., *The Sermons of John Donne*, 10 vols (Berkley: University of California Press, 1953-62),VI (1953),280-91.

repraesentation [... that did] decke and adorn these present Funerals'. This 'lively image' was the funeral effigy lying now in the hearse at the centre of the choir (figures 89 and 90).[7] The identification with Solomon is part of James's personal royal image. The emphasis is all on the effigy as representative of James the individual monarch with no reference to it representing the general Majesty of Kingship. The Gloriana-Majesty duality of Elizabeth's funeral effigy has been lost.[8]

The sermon delivered by Archbishop Abbot at the funeral of Prince Henry Stuart similarly used the effigy as a prop but in a much less sophisticated fashion. Dr Abbot's text was taken from the Psalms 82.6-7: 'I have said, Ye *are* gods; and all of you *are* children of the most High: But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes'. The Archbishop, 'for ocular proofe and use of all', invited the congregation to cast 'their eyes to the present dolefull spectacle of their late ever-renowned Prince, who not long ago was as fresh, brave, and gallant as the best of them [..] who yet now for our sinnes lay thus low, bereaved of life and all being, was forced to prove the truth of this text, not onely to fall, but to fall as others'.[9]

It was James's hearse, however, not the effigy, that caught

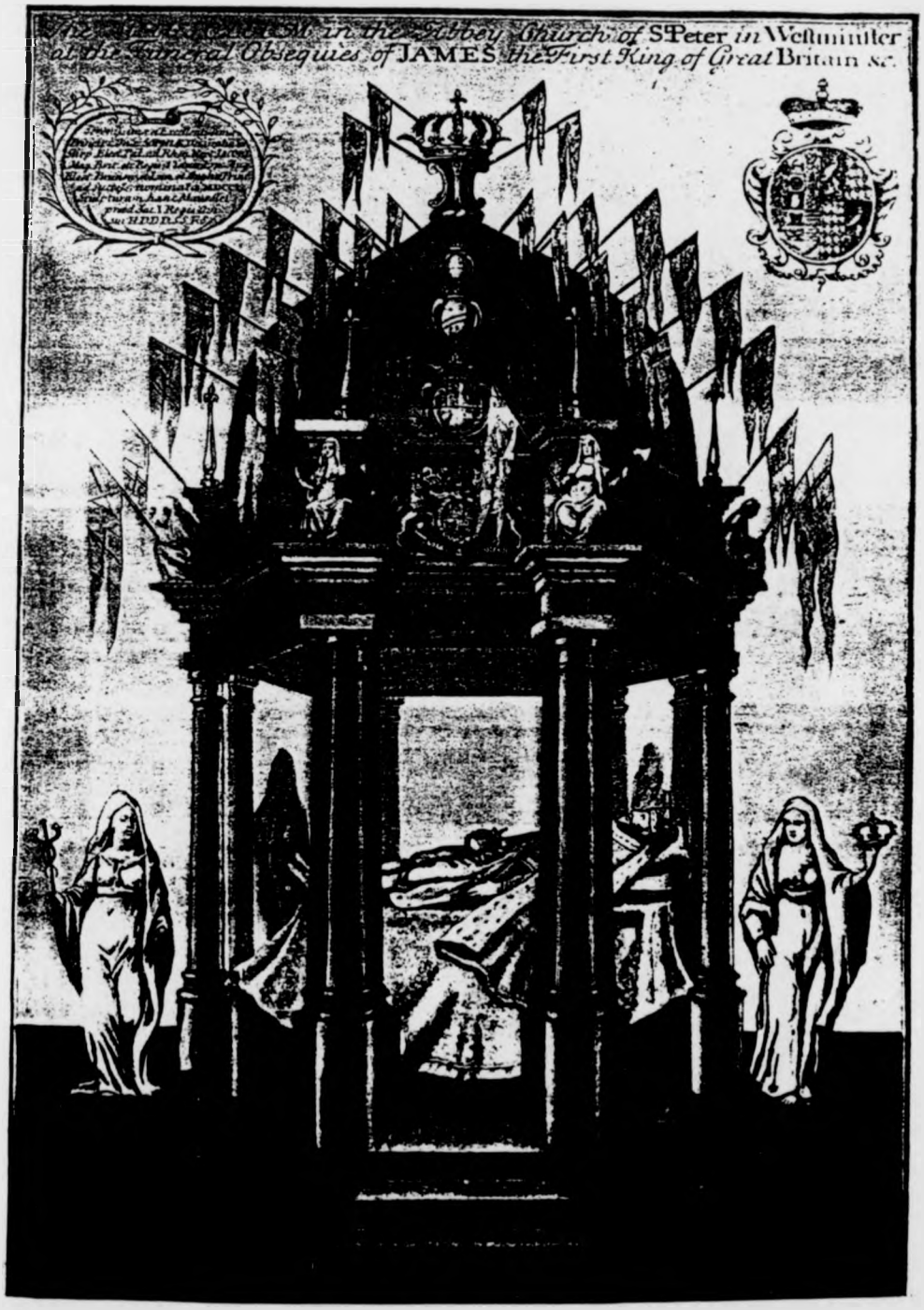
[7] *Westminster Abbey*,p.17. The effigy wore Parliamentary robes as James does in Paul van Somer's portrait, see figure 88.

[8] Note the shift towards naturalism in effigy production, see chapters 5,pp.175-81; 9,pp.280-1.

[9] Nichols (1828),II,502.

88. Paul van Somer, *King James* (1620).

89. The funeral effigy of James I (wooden framework), Westminster Abbey, from W. H. St John Hope, 'On the funeral effigies of the Kings and Queens of England', *Archaeologia*, 40 part 2 (1907),pl.LXV.



90. Hearse of James I with funeral effigy, from Sandford's *Genealogical History*.

the attention of most observers. The impact of the James's hearse is suggested by the Venetian ambassador, Zuane Pesaro, who says that it was 'much esteemed for its architecture and decoration'. Chamberlain likewise commented that the hearse was the 'fairest and best fashioned that heth ben seen'.[10] It was designed by Inigo Jones, who had become Surveyor for the royal household's Office of Works in 1615.[11] He was the first man to hold the post who possessed a knowledge of Italian Renaissance architecture. Fortunately, Jones' drawings for the hearse of James I survive.[12]

The hearse design shows the influence of the cultural eclecticism of the Stuart court in the mid-1620s, drawing on Biblical, pagan and Catholic precedents in the fashioning of an architectural setting for James's funeral image. Jones based his design for James's catafalque on Bramante's Tempietto, commemorating the martyrdom of St. Peter, but also looks back to the antique architecture which had inspired Bramante.[13] The base on which the catafalque stands and the

[10]CSPV,XIX (1625-6),55; McClure,II,614.

[11]The hearse was painted by John de Critz, Serjeant Painter to the King. See Harris and Higgott,p.187.

[12]Parry (1981),pp.77-8; Smuts,p.125; Colvin,p.309; Nichols (1828),IV,1048;. The drawings for the hearse are held at Worcester College, Oxford. It seems that the design was altered slightly in execution. See Whinney,p.86.

[13]Jones may also have based his design for the domes of St. George's Palace, in the *Barriers* and Oberon's palace on Bramante's Tempietto. It had frequently been illustrated in architectural handbooks including the *Architettura* of Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1553?). See Orgel and Strong,pp.214-7. Serlio's work was a major popularizer of Roman and modern Italian architecture in Europe. See David Thomson, *Renaissance Architecture, critics, patrons, luxury* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993),pp.118-9. Serlio was published in England as *The [...] Booke of Architecture* (1611) in a translation by Robert Peake.

steps leading up to it recall the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli, illustrated in the fourth book of Palladio's *Architettura* and visited by Jones during his second tour of Italy in 1613-4.[14] Jones was also working with a more recent tradition of funerary architecture and in particular echoes the catafalque designed by Domenico Fontana for the obsequies of Pope Sixtus V (1591), although he re-classicizes the design replacing its enriched order with the plain Doric order of Bramante. The Catholic Fontana design is modified into one which was both Protestant and monarchic, incorporating twelve statues into the design, four of which Williams identifies in the sermon as representing Religion, Justice, War and Peace.[15] While designing the catafalque, Jones probably also had access to Lelio Guidicioni's funeral book for Paul V and is likely to have been familiar with Antoine Canqué's translation of Xiphilinus in which he could have read the desciption of the catafalque constructed for the funeral of Pertinax.[16]

In the realm of continental funeral ceremony the connection between classical obsequies and those of contemporary rulers had been made long before 1625. Several Renaissance treatises on ancient funeral rites appeared during the sixteenth century. Examples include: L. G. Giraldi's, *De Sepulchris et vario sepeliendi ritu, libellus* (Basel, 1539); T. Porcacchi's,

[14]Peacock,p.1; Harris and Higgott,pp.53,62.

[15]Peacock,pp.2-3; Harris and Higgott,p.187. The statues were the work of the French sculptor, Henry Le Sueur, who came to London in 1625. Le Sueur was the first sculptor with first hand knowledge of Renaissance Italy to arrive in England. It is worth recalling that the tombs for Mary and Elizabeth had no secondary statues. See chapter 7,pp.218,221.

[16]Peacock,p.4.

Funerali Antichi di Diversi popli et nationi (Venice, 1574); and C. Guichard's, *Funerailles & diverses maniers d'ensevelir des Romains, Grecs, & autres nations* (Lyons, 1581). In 1567 the French expert on court ceremonial, Jean Du Tillet, attempted to establish a Roman origin for the French effigy lying-in-state ritual based on translations of Herodian. The latter included descriptions of the imperial funeral effigy which was treated as if it were still alive but sickening day by day until it was finally pronounced dead.[17] A similar preoccupation with classical precedent is revealed in the printed account of Cosimo I's funeral in Florence in 1574 when the catafalque is compared to the pyramid of Cestius.[18]

The connection does not seem to have been made in England, however, until James's reign. Henry Savile, in his translation of Tacitus's *Histories* (1622) commented that the obsequies of Charles IX resembled those of a Roman emperor.[19] Then, commenting on James's funeral procession, the Venetian ambassador, Pesaro, remarked, rather confusedly, that the Bishops wore rochets and the choristers wore surplices 'after the ancient Roman fashion'![20]

In James's funeral service, the influence of classicism was

[17]The French translations of Herodian appeared in 1541. See Giesey (1960),pp.147,169-70.

[18]*Descritione della Pompa funerale Fatta nelle Essequie del Ser.^mo Sig. Cosimo Gran Duca de Medici Gran duca di Toscana* (Florence, 1574), sig. Eii[r], cited by Peacock,p.3.

[19]Henry Savile, *The Ende of Nero and Beginning of Galba, Fower bookes of the histories of Cornelius Tacitus* ([London?]: [n. pub.], 1591; 5th edn., 1622),p.4, cited by Peacock,p.3.

[20]CSPV,XIX, (1625-6),55.

also apparent in the sermon. John Williams draws a parallel between the current obsequies and the posthumous celebration that Hadrian gave in honour of Trajan:

> After his death he triumphed openly in the Cittie of Rome, In Image, in a Lively Statue, or Repraesentation invented by Adrian for that purpose: soe shall this Salomon of Israel doe at this time in the Statue, and Repraesentation of our British Salomon. Truly me thinkes (Si nunquam fallit imago) the remembrance is very lively.[11]

At the climax of the sermon Williams takes the image symbolism further, sending it off in a startling new direction.

> For God hath provided another Statue yet to adorne the Exequies of our late Soveraigne. I doe not meane this Artificiall Representation within the Hearse, for this shews no more than his outward Body, or rather the Bodie of His Bodie, his Cloathes and Ornaments. But I meane that Statue which [...] walk't on foot this day after the Hearse, one of Myrons Statues, Qui paene Hominu[m] animas effinxerit, which came so neare to the Soules of Men, A breathing Statue of all his Vertues. This God hath done for Him, or rather for Us. For he hath made a lively Repraesentation of the Vertues of Salomon, in the person of King James: so he hath done a like Repraesentation of the Vertues of King James, in the person of King Charles Our Gratious Soveraigne.[12]

In this fascinating statement Williams at once deconstructs the funeral effigy and infuses the image symbolism with striking new significance. He openly comments on the artificiality of the effigy and even exposes the superficiality of the trappings of royalty. Robes, crown, orb and sceptre, the symbols of divine Majesty, are dismissed as mere 'clothes and ornaments'. There is no attempt here to suggest that any part of King James mystically lives on in the

[11]Williams (1625),p.36.

[12]Williams (1625),pp.75-6.

effigy. Attention is switched from the man-made statue to the living statue of Charles who, as chief mourner, was seated at the head of the catafalque.[13] The charisma attached to the effigy is prematurely returned to the living monarch. Although perhaps not visible to the majority of the congregation now, all had seen Charles in the funeral procession, where he followed the chariot and effigy in his capacity as chief mourner. In a moment, at the close of the sermon, Charles would take part in the performance of the offering ritual, receiving the hatchments of his father in a ritual enactment of the succession process. The shift of attention away from the effigy to the living monarch enacts the greater mystery of hereditary kingship and the ambiguity that is at the heart of the creation and display of power is similarly transferred. The features of the old King are reborn in those of the new. Charles is the living image or 'statue' of his father. Here indeed, 'art', as Henry Wotton had said of the statues which lined the high ways of ancient Athens and Rome, 'was a piece of state'.[14]

[13]For a list of the chairs and stools provided for the mourners, see Nichols (1828),IV,1035.

[14]Wotton,p.106.

The Offering Ritual: the Adaptation of Royal Funeral Ritual to Divine Right Kingship

As we have seen, in England, as well as France, it was traditional for the new monarch not to display his royal person in public until after the funeral of his predecessor, not even to attend his obsequies.[15] At James's funeral the succeeding monarch was, for the first time, the protagonist in the offering ceremony at the heart of the church service.

> For the Kings Ma^tie being principall Mourner with his Supporters assistants and traynebearers [...] did proceed to the Altar to offer for the defuncte and havenge offered his Ma^tie did returne to his Chayre and after a little stay there his Matie did goe up agayne/ with Garter and the rest of the officers of Armes, his gentlemen ushers and his two supporters, no Trayne borne but the two Gentlemen of his bedchamber did followe behind him to lift it sometimes for ease and so did go up to the high altar and his Ma^tie did offer for himselfe and havinge offered did there stay to receyve the hatchments where there was a chayre provided for his Matie when he should please to sytt [...] Theis things being done his Matie returned to his place at the upper end of the Hearse agayne and there rested till all the Lords had offered.[16]

As Prince of Wales, Charles had participated in the funeral of his mother, Queen Anne. There gender had precluded him from enacting the role of chief mourner but he had, in accordance with heraldic practice, received the banners in the offering ceremony.[17]

[15]See chapters 3,p.106 and 5,p.162.

[16]CA, Nayler,pp.55-6. The use of the term 'altar' in this account of James's funeral and in BL, Lansdowne MS 885 fol.124, indicates how much it had been re-legitimized by the Arminian influence in the Church of England. The altar rail was destroyed in 1643 by Cromwellian soldiers, see W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey Re-Examined* (London: Duckworth, 1925),p.258.

[17]Nichols (1828),III,542. See chapter 1,p.58.

The impact of the offering ceremonies must have been felt by all. Pesaro, for one, highlights the presentation of the banners in his description of the funeral ceremony. Pesaro also identifies the hearse as the centre of these ritual proceedings.[10] The classical Roman setting of the hearse transposed the offering ritual, identified as a medieval chivalric survival in chapter 2, refashioning it in the context of the Jacobean Roman-chivalric revival.

The model for the revised offering form at the funeral of James had long been practised at the heraldic funerals of the aristocracy. The offering procedure closely parallels that of the Derby funeral, described in chapter 1, even down to the marking of the change in roles by an alteration in the King's escort.[11] When Charles approaches the altar to offer on behalf of his dead father, his train is borne by two assistants. When he goes up again, in his own capacity, his train is not borne. It is as if Charles was not due the respect of a king until he had received the hatchments. Yet the achievements, as was pointed out earlier, appertained to the private person of his father, not to the public office of kingship. The offering ceremony of the aristocratic heraldic funeral enacted a legal inheritance that would not have been appropriate to a royal funeral in the later Middle Ages. Although hereditary succession was firmly established under the Tudors, the particular circumstances of their successions (the minority of Edward VI and the gender of Mary and Elizabeth) meant that it was not until the accession of

[10]CSPV,XIX (1625-6),55.

[11]See chapter 1,pp.55-63.

Charles I that there was another dynastic succession of an adult male heir - the first for more than a century. The hybrid succession/offering ceremony seems to reflect the Stuart desire to build a dynastic monarchy with the ceremonial changes consciously being made so that the offering ritual would enact the hereditary succession to the throne.

Support for this interpretation of the modified offering ritual comes from the lack of a succession ritual at James's interment. At earlier royal funerals, the heralds had ritually confirmed the succession at the interment. At the funeral of Henry VII this ritual included a small-scale French-style symbolic lowering and raising of heraldic objects.[10] On this occasion, 'all the heraudes did off their cote armour and did hange them upon the rayles of the herse, cryinge lamentably in French, "the noble King Henry is deade", and as soon as they had so done, evere heraude putt on his cote armure againe and cried with a loud voyce,"Vive le noble Henry le viijth'.[11] The repeated cries and manipulation of the insignia were omitted from subsequent English royal funerals with Garter King at Arms simply proclaiming the succession. At the close of the funeral service for Mary Tudor, just before the interment, Garter called in a loud voice, 'Pray for the soul of the most Puissant and Excellent Princess, Mary by the Grace of God, late Queen of England', giving her titles in full and then proceeded to 'declare the

[10]Chapter 3,pp.105-6. See figure 39.

[11]BL, MS 4712-8 v.4.309, cited by Dallaway,p.140. The manipulation of the coats of arms is not mentioned in Briscoe.

state of the Queen present'.[32] The symbolic enactment of the royal succession in the offering ceremony at James's funeral rendered these interment succession rituals superfluous.

The new ritual brought royal funeral ceremony into harmony with early Stuart concepts of divine right kingship.[33] As we saw in the discussion of Elizabeth's funeral, the royal effigy ritual that had formed the symbolic centre of earlier royal funerals was incompatibile with these ideas but James's absence from England at the time of Elizabeth's death and, more importantly, his need to demonstrate the legality of his lineal succession, in the face of anticipated contention and civil unrest, was of paramount importance. Thus he accorded his predecessor all the expected funeral rites. Neither of these constraints applied to Charles: he was free to modify the funeral ritual and bring it into line with Stuart political ideology. This explains the loss of the traditional emphasis on the effigy as representative of a general Majesty of Kingship noted earlier. Charles did not need the funeral effigy to fill a ceremonial interregnum, using it rather to enact a dynastic succession. Thus the effigy represented James as an individual Stuart king.

The seventeenth century theory of the divine right of kings presupposed a sovereign who had a personal and an individual right, derived directly from God, to his throne. Some proponents of the theory attached the right to the office of

[32]Nichols (1848),p.183. For Edward VI, see CA, Briscoe MS II fol.314.

[33]See chapter 6,pp.210-212.

kingship, instead of the personal claim of the individual king, rather in the manner of Plowden and his counterparts whose arguments had supported the legitimacy of the Tudor claim to the throne. Others, however, identified an hereditary component in the theory and equated it with the private right to succession of land under feudal law, enacted in the heraldic funeral ritual. It was the latter group that found favour with James and Charles as their claims were based on hereditary kingship. James, in his exposition of the divine right of kings, insisted that the right attaches to the person of the king, not merely to the office.[14]

The concept of hereditary right was not unanimously accepted by royalists until after the death of Charles I. It was essentially a Scottish concept, based on Roman law, and conflicted with English common law.[15] The new offering ritual at James's funeral could have been a part of a propaganda campaign in favour of the hereditary component of divine right kingship.[16]

Who was behind this deliberate re-shaping of the offering ritual at the funeral of James I? It was usually the Privy Council, with advice from the College of Arms, that organized royal funerals. The Privy Council was sworn in under the new King on 28 March.[17] On the same day Charles appointed a

[14]Lee (1990),p.65; Lockyer,p.253; Sommerville,p.23. See chapter 5,p.155.

[15]McIlwain,pp.xxxiii-xxxvi.

[16]Sommerville,p.45.

[17]CSPD,I (1625-6),1.

Commission to take charge of the funeral proceedings. This comprised James, Earl of Marlborough, the Lord Treasurer; Henry Montagu, Earl of Manchester, the Lord President; John Williams, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Lord Privy Seal; the Duke of Buckingham; Thomas Howard, the Earl of Arundel and Earl Marshal since 1622; William, Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain; and the Earl of Montgomery.[11] Williams, Montagu and Howard were all well-qualified to contribute to the fashioning of James's funeral occasion. If we are to believe Pesaro, however, it was not these men but King Charles who took the decision to participate in the funeral himself. Pesaro reports, 'it was doubtful whether his Majesty would take part personally [...] Difficulties arose, but finally the King decided to pay this last tribute of respect to his father's memory in person' and further remarks that 'since William the Conqueror the King had only thrice been present at funeral celebrations'.[11] The conscious break with ritual precedent seems then to have come from the top. This is another case of the situational adjustment of ritual performance and also illustrates Charles personal role in shaping court culture.[11]

In making this extraordinary break with traditional practice,

[11]Acts of the Privy Council (1625-6),p.7; Dallaway, Appendix 49. Until 1621 there had only ever been one clerical member of the Privy Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury, but John Williams combined his duties as Lord Keeper with the bishopric of Lincoln, see Lockyer,p.259. Interestingly, Henry Montagu had a particular interest in the antiquity of festivals and consulted Cotton when drafting a paper on the subject. See Sharpe (1979),p.35.

[11]CSPV,XIX (1625-6),pp.53,55.

[11]See Introduction,p.18; and chapter 6,p.199.

Charles might have been responding to changes in funeral practice clearly demonstrated in the nocturnal funerals that were becoming increasingly fashionable with the aristocracy. As Gittings has convincingly argued, part of the attraction of nocturnal funerals lay in their freedom from the heraldic regulations involving age, gender and rank that restricted the choice of chief and assistant mourners.[41] At a nocturnal funeral a wife, for example, could act as chief mourner for her husband and vice versa. Another encouragement to change might have been provided by the presence at court of large numbers of Scottish nobles who did not come under the jurisdiction of the College of Arms and were free to choose the form of their funerals.[42]

The idea of placing the monarch at the centre of the funeral performance may also have owed something to the masque tradition, itself a reflection of divine right kingship, in which the monarch provided the focal point of the proceedings. Similarly the verbal trick which transforms the visual image of Charles into the image of his father is reminiscent of the *trompe l'oeil* of the court masque. In his funeral sermon, Williams builds on the Mannerist fascination with *trompe l'oeil* and the physiognomy of the great.[43] Certainly the masque techniques of intermingling verbal and visual content

[41]Gittings,pp.175,195-7. Stone suggested that the desire to economize had been the primary factor in the switch to noturnal burials. Gittings discussion is far more sophisticated. See Stone (1965),p.577.

[42]Gittings,p.183. For the nocturnal funeral journey of the Marquis of Hamilton whose corpse was conveyed from London by torchlight before being taken all the way to Scotland, see McClure,II,604.

[43]Strong (1986),p.194.

are paralleled in Williams's sermon. He offers, 'unto your thoughts, not only a statue of King Solomon, but withall, as the Graecians did in their Hercules, and Xenophon in his Cyrus, an Idea or Representation of all the perfections required in a King'.[11] John Peacock further argues that the interaction of sermon and hearse constituted a synthesis of form and motif that paralleled court masques.[12] Taken together all four components of the funeral service, hearse, sermon, effigy and offering ritual, operated in a composite discourse of performance which demonstrated the royal succession in the context of divine right kingship.[13]

Finally, the form and content of James's funeral service surely owed a great deal to the re-legitimization of the image and the re-ceremonialization of religion described in the introductory section of chapter 5. Both the 'image' and 'ritual' had attained a greater level of acceptance, such that even the moderate Calvinist Bishop John Williams was happy for them to be the pivots of his funeral sermon.

[11]Williams (1625),p.66. One is reminded of Jonson's representation of James as both man and statue in *The Barriers*. See Goldberg.p.40.

[12]Peacock,p.4.

[13]On Jones's belief in the political functions of his masque and building designs, see Smuts,pp.168,290.

An Alternative Solution: Funerals, *Lits de Justice* and Absolutism in France, (1563-1610)

The French monarchists similarly revised their programme of royal ceremonial to bring it in line with their more absolutist version of divine right kingship. The process began during the reign of the weak and youthful Charles IX.[47] At the majority *lit de justice*, held in the Parlement of Rouen in 1563, rhetoric and rituals of homage were used to affirm the authority of the King (figure 91).[48] The reformist Chancellor, Michel de l'Hôpital, enlisted juristic arguments to affirm the validity and authority of royal edicts passed during the early years of Charles's reign, when he had been a minor. He reformulated the medieval adage, recently re-expressed in Jean Bodin's 'le roi ne meurt jamais', inventing his own phrase to stress the continuity of the monarchy: 'le royaume n'est jamais vacant'. Applied to the royal funeral ceremonial, his remarks exposed the fictive nature of the ceremonial interregnum filled by the effigy, which never had and certainly now did not have any basis in law.[49]

In line with his subversion of the royal funeral symbolism, L'Hôpital made a case for establishing the majority *lit de*

[47]Jennifer Woodward, 'The Theatre of Death: Politics, Ritual and Ideology in the Royal Funeral of Charles IX' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Warwick, 1992).

[48]A *lit de justice* was the personal attendance of the king in Parlement, usually to enforce registration of an edict. See Salmon (1975),p.348. It differed from a *séance*, or honorary visit of the king. See Hanley,p.209.

[49]See chapter 3,p.106. Note the similarity between l'Hôpital's pronouncements and James's theories of instantaneous succession. See chapter 5,pp.155-7.

91. The majority *lit de justice* held in the Parlement of Rouen, 1563.

justice as the dominant succession ritual. Disruptive behaviour by the French Parlement at the funeral feast of Charles IX and the disputes over precedence in the procession would affirm L'Hôpital's conviction that the whole matrix of royal ceremonial needed revision. He sought to promote the ethos of absolute hereditary kingship which would become the dominant philosophy of the late Valois and early Bourbon kings. This philosophy required the display of the new monarch's royal person in a ritual act of power as soon after his accession as possible. The *lit de justice* was the French monarchists's answer to this need. Louis XIII appeared in a 'succession' or inaugural *lit de justice* the day after the news of Henry IV's assassination, and a good two weeks before his burial.[50] Marie de Medici thus ensured that her son's status as king was ritually affirmed before the funeral of his father took place. The ceremonial interregnum was lost and the effigy ritual deprived of symbolic significance. Where Charles IX's effigy had lain in state, served as if it were the King still alive, for forty days, the effigy of Henry IV was to be so displayed for a meagre seven days.[51] After Henry

[50]Winwood,III,158. The young Louis would also appear in the 'sleeping king' ritual at the beginning of the coronation proceedings. This ritual was unique to the coronations of Louis XIII (1610) and Charles IX (1561) and underlined the principle of hereditary succession by emphasizing the personal resemblance between these kings and their fathers. See Richard A. Jackson, *Vive le Roi! A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 1984),pp.131-153; and Woodward,pp.71-4.

[51]For Charles IX's funeral, see Appendix II and Simon Goulart, *Mémoirs de l'Estat de France Sous Charles Neufiesme*, 2nd edn., 3 vols (Paris: [n. pub.], 1577),pp.375-7; Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits français 18536 fols 72-5. For Henry IV, see *L'Ordre de la Pompe Funebre Observee au Convoy et Funerailles du [...] Henry le Grand, Roy de France et de Navarre* (Lyon: Claude Morillon, 1610); *The Funeral Pompe and Obsequies of the most mighty and puissant Henry the fourth [...] solemnized at Paris and at St. Denis* (London: [n. pub.],

IV's funeral, the French abandoned the effigy ritual altogether.[51]

Although French absolutism went considerably further than English divine right kingship, the monarchies of the two countries were moving in the same direction and both placed increasing emphasis on the hereditary component of the Crown. Further, both countries recognized that the traditional funeral ritual, with its ceremonial interregnum filled by the funeral effigy and non-appearance of the new king, did not best serve their philosophical positions. Each, however, found a different solution to the problem. Where the English modified the funeral offering ritual so that it enacted hereditary succession, the French promoted a new ritual, the *lit de justice*, to answer the needs of hereditary absolutism.

THE LYING-IN-STATE RITUAL

I have demonstrated the way in which the changing attitude towards 'images' influenced the church service but it was in the lying-in-state that the full impact of this change was manifested. The casting of King Charles in the central role of chief mourner was not the only striking break with tradition in the funeral rituals of James I. On this occasion, for the first time in English history, the funeral

1610).

[51]Giesey (1960),p.180. Benkard (p.24) states that the last effigy made was for Louis XIII (1643). It was not used in the funeral ceremony.

effigy was to take the place of the coffin in the lying-in-state ritual, as it had done in France at the funeral of Francis I (1547).[53]

After James's death, his corpse was disembowelled and the viscera enclosed in a leaden vessel which was buried separately, following the procedure of Anne's funeral. The coffin was richly hatched with gold and a Latin inscription placed upon the breast.[54] Two days later James's embalmed and encoffined body was transported from Theobalds to Denmark House. On arrival at Denmark House the coffin was placed on a 'specially prepared frame of board like a large bed' in the Privy Chamber. The bed or hearse was covered with forty ells of fine Holland and sixty-nine ells of black velvet and had a canopy above.[55] The chamber itself was hung with black velvet decorated with escutcheons wrought upon cloth of gold.

Manuscript sources indicate that these elaborate preparations were made for the display of an effigy:

> Immediately a representation of his Matie was layd upon the said Pall over y' body in his robes of Estate and Royall Diademe and so it contynewed until the funerall. All Kinge James his Servants removynge from Whyte-hall to Denmarke House and King Charles his Servants from St. James to Whyte-hall. The Service contynewed in all poyntes as if his

[53]Chapter 3,pp.107-8. The English would never, however, adopt the French custom of switching the effigy with the encoffined body and transforming the *salle d'honneur* into a *salle de deuil*. See Appendix II.

[54]Nichols (1828),IV,1037.

[55]According to Peacock (p.2 n.12) Jones may have designed a different, more old-fashioned catafalque for the lying-in-state at Denmark House.

Maite had byn lyvinge.[16]

The Venetian Ambassador's report confirms that the effigy was served as if it had been living and indicates further that the public were aware that it was taking place. Pesaro says, 'After arranging the house where the remains of the late king are laid, they put life-like figures there, and they observe the customary vigil, thirty to forty noblemen and cavaliers being always present day and night'.[17]

I argued in chapter 5 that it was impossible for the effigy-centred ritual to be imitated at the funeral of Elizabeth I in 1603 although it was known.[18] Subsequently, I demonstrated in chapter 6 how the religious and cultural climate altered during James's reign and that, at court at least, religious images and ceremony were being rehabilitated. These changes facilitated the eventual adoption of the French ritual form on the occasion of James's funeral. It is not clear who was behind this modification in the ritual programme, although one is tempted to attribute it to Charles. Certainly, his willing support of the ritual is indicated by his removal to Whitehall to facilitate the continuation of the late King's household at Denmark House.[19]

[16]CA, Nayler,p.28. See also Bod., Ashmole MS 818 fol.51, 'when the body is reported here at Whitehall [?], all the officers are to attend and the state of the house to be kept as in the kinges life tyme'.

[17]CSPV,XIX (1625-6),19-20.

[18]See chapter 5,pp.188-9.

[19]Bod., Ashmole MS, 818 fol.51. The Countess of Bedford misinterpreted the continuation of the late King's household as indicative of Charles's decision to keep his own servants and dismiss his father's. She commented, 'itt is thought he will imploye his owne and dismisse his father's, because he

The Funeral of Ludowick Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox (1624)

The person responsible for the adoption of the French-style effigy ritual, whoever it may have been, probably knew of a recent English precedent. Ludowick Stuart, son of the King's cousin, Esmé Stuart, had died suddenly on 16 February 1624. His funeral did not take place until 19 April 1624. Meanwhile, as Chamberlain reports, 'there hath ben a herse, with his statue on a bed of state above these sixe weekes at Hatton House, where there hath ben great concourse of all sorts'. When the funeral procession finally took place, it was 'performed with great charge [...] for there were about a thousand mourners one and other, besides sixe or eight horse all covered with velvet, and his picture or figure drawne in a coach by sixe horses clad in like manner, and his herse at Westminster (that stands yet)'. The hearse remained in Westminster Abbey at least until 30 April and the Duke's widow went on to erect a tomb in the Henry VII chapel, the royal necropolis."

As I have indicated, the distinctive use of the effigy at James's funeral owed a great deal to the changed cultural climate of the mid-1620s. The same was of course true for the Lennox funeral but what specific motives lay behind its use, particularly in the context of Lennox's funeral which, as the

hath caused the latter to be removed to Denmark House to attend the body, and lodged the former about himselfe at Whitehall'. See Walter Scott, ed., *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts*,p.231, cited by Bland,p.46.

"DNB; McClure,II,551 n.449,554.

above description suggests, was unprecedentedly elaborate?[11]

Practical reasons have been postulated. Lennox's body was buried hastily either because the embalmers were unable to preserve it or because his widow vetoed the embalming process altogether. The Duchess had a horror of embalming which she precluded for her own body in her will, proved in 1639. It is certainly true that Lennox's corpse was buried the night after his death, 'necessity not permitting to defer his burying, he was carried by his own servants, and accompanied with a great number of servants and gentlemen unto the Abbey Church of Westminster' where the service was taken by the Bishop of Lincoln.[12] Yet the fact that Lennox's corpse had already been buried does not in itself provide an explanation for an effigy being used at the funeral, and certainly not for why it was felt necessary or appropriate for the effigy to lie in state. Earlier 'bodiless' funerals had occurred, a recent example being that of Bishop Richard Parry (1623) whose body was similarly buried before his funeral.[13] On such occasions an empty coffin was used in the funeral, perhaps with a coronet or, as in the case of Mary Queen of Scots, a crown 'representing' the deceased. Gittings suggests that an effigy was used because Lennox's body was not available and cites the example of Gilbert, Earl of Shropshire (1616) as a parallel instance. Here, however, I suggest the account writer was probably using the term 'representation' to refer to a coronet

[11]The procession and hearse both exceeded Queen Anne's in splendour. See CA, I Series MS IV fols 16-29; McClure,II,554.

[12]Gittings,p.167.

[13]BL, Harley MS 2129 fol.89.

borne on the coffin to 'represent' the defunct. The manuscript mentions only 'the representation borne by six gentlemen' and makes no references which do not fit this explanation."[11] The term 'representation' was adopted from the French in c.1325 and in French it could simply refer to a coat of arms or crown, rather than an effigy. The O.E.D does not give any examples of 'representation' referring to heraldic symbols on the coffin, giving only its effigial meaning in the funeral context, but the meaning 'to express or denote by means of a figure or symbol' was current from 1526."[12]

The text upon which Bishop Williams preached his sermon gives us another hint as to why Lennox might have been accorded such exaggerated ceremony at his funeral. It was I Kings 4.5: 'And Zabud the son of Nathan was principal officer and the King's friend' . Lennox had long been a favourite of James. As a boy he had borne the crown in the 1584 opening of the Scottish parliament. He joined the Privy Council in 1603 immediately after James's accession and became a Gentleman of the Bedchamber. In 1614 he was made deputy Earl Marshal. A final measure of Lennox's high status can be inferred from the fact that his death caused the deferral of the opening of Parliament which should have taken place on the very same day.

James's high regard for Lennox may then have been a contributory factor in determining the exalted obsequies that

[11]BL, Harley MS 1368 fol.35; Gittings,pp.167-8. (Arundel and Pembroke were mourners at this funeral).

[12]See chapter 4,pp.140-1.

he received. The impetus seems, however, to have come from the Duchess. Chamberlain commented, 'all things are like to be performed with more solemnitie and ado than needed: but that yt so pleaseth her Grace to honor the memorie of so deare a husband, whose losse she takes so impatiently and with so much show of passion'.[16]

Why should the Duchess of Lennox have adopted the French style ritual, with the effigy lying-in-state, for the funeral of her husband?[17] Lennox's father, Esmé Stuart, spent a considerable time at the court of Henry III. He brought a knowledge of French court culture with him when he returned to Scotland in 1579 and helped to shape James's court on French lines. On a visit in 1601 Sir Henry Wotton commented that James's court was 'governed more in the French than in the English fashion'.[18] Lennox himself also spent some time at the French court, although not at the time of a French royal funeral. His father died when they were together in Paris in 1583. Lennox then returned to Scotland but was to be in France once more as ambassador in 1601 and again in 1604-5. His brother Lord Aubigny, together with his friends Hay and Ramsey, all of whom had spent time at the French court, also fostered the French influence at the English court. Family sympathies with Catholicism as well as with France may have been responsible for the Duchess's decision to honour her husband's funerals in

[16]McClure,II,551 n.449.

[17]The use of an effigy at Lennox's funeral may owe something to Henry Stuart's funeral, the first post-Reformation use of an effigy for the funeral of a non-monarch. Henry's effigy did not, however, lie in state.

[18]Cuddy,p.180.

the French style. Although a strong supporter of the King's ecclesiastical policy in Scotland, Lennox seems to have had some Catholic sympathies, opposing, for example, a commission for executing laws against papists and Jesuits in Scotland in 1588."

The extravagance of Lennox's funeral did not meet with universal approbation. Chamberlain reports that, 'divers noble men refused some offices or services they were apointed to, as esteeming them unfit for him or themselves. In effect I have not heard of such a titularie prince and subject, so magnificently enterred'." Exaggerated funeral ritual was divisive since it subverted the function of displaying the hierarchy of society. It is interesting, however, that Chamberlain's only specific criticism focused on precedence disputes in the funeral procession. He does not discuss the propriety or otherwise of the use of the effigy. Nor was there to be any criticism of the effigy lying-in-state ritual at the funeral of Lennox's King a year or so later.

The Lying-in-State of James I's Funeral Effigy

A number of specific factors may have contributed to the adoption of the effigy lying-in-state ritual at Lennox's and at James's funeral now that cultural conditions were favourable for its acceptance.

"DNB.

"McClure,II,554.

I agree with Gittings that part of the motivation was probably Charles's desire not to be outdone by his continental rivals in the realm of funeral pageantry.[71] Certainly, the funeral organizers did not neglect the need for James's obsequies to be celebrated where the English had strong overseas links. Thomas Locke wrote to Dudley Carleton, Ambassador at the Hague, on 12 April wondering how much money should be sent for the celebration of the King's funeral there. He remarks that for the Queen's funeral, presumably Queen Anne's, £100 had been sent. Mourning blacks were also sent to the Lady Elizabeth, Electress Palatine in the care of Sir Henry Fane, offical bearer of the news of the King's death. The amount of cloth sent was sufficient to clothe the Princess, her family and her household.[72]

In accordance with tradition, the leading continental courts also marked the occasion of James's death with ceremony.[73] The French court went into mourning and the Master of Ceremonies even encouraged foreign ambassadors in Paris to do likewise. The Venetian Ambassador, Morosini, made a formal visit to his English counterparts to pay his respects and express the Republic's esteem of the late King. The young Spanish King, kept at Aranjuez by Olivares, also ordered mourning garments.[74]

[71]Gittings,p.223.

[72]CSPD Addenda, XXIII (1625-49),3-4,12; CSPV, XIX (1625-6),13,37.

[73]Introduction,p.26 and chapter 4,pp.119-122.

[74]CSPV,XIX (1625-6),14-5,22,24; Elliott,pp.169-189.

In the context of continental rivalry, there are a number of reasons why Charles, like the Lennox family, should have displayed a marked inclination towards things French.

The Esmé Stuart influence persisted when James organized his English court which had a strong French component from the outset. James had revived the custom of dining in state at the English court, in accordance with Franco-Scottish court etiquette. Those in charge of the actual table service, the Carvers, Cupbearers and Sewers of the Privy Chamber, were able to exploit James's habit of debating while dining and their positions could be instrumental in building a successful career at court. George Villiers was a Cupbearer; Sir John Digby, later Vice-Chamberlain and Earl of Bristol, a Carver; and Sir Thomas Overbury, for a time Carr's favourite, a Sewer. The revival of this French fashion may have made the French effigy lying-in-state ritual an attractive option, giving powerful courtiers an opportunity to demonstrate through ritual their continued power at the potentially vulnerable juncture of royal accession. Buckingham, bringing his experience as a Cupbearer to the meetings of the commission, may have been influential in the decision to make the traditional continuation of the household effigy-centred. The performance of the acts of service to the royal effigy by leading courtiers and noblemen enabled the lying-in-state to create and display the continuity of monarchial power, as the French monarchists had done at the funeral of Charles IX (1574).[71]

[71]Cuddy,p.184. See also chapter 3,pp.108-9; and Introduction,pp.11-2.

Charles's imminent marriage with Henrietta Maria was set to bring French royal culture to the centre of the English court. The French style of James's lying-in-state may well have been influenced by an interest in and fashion for things French triggered by the marriage negotiations.[76] In 1610, at the age of nine Henrietta Maria had been taken to cast water on the body of her father, Henry IV, as it lay in state at the Louvre and she attended his funeral at St. Denis (figure 93).[77] Henrietta may have exercised a direct influence on Charles's decisions about the arrangements for the lying-in-state ritual, through the agency of her marriage negotiators. She herself did not arrive in England in person until the proceedings were well underway.

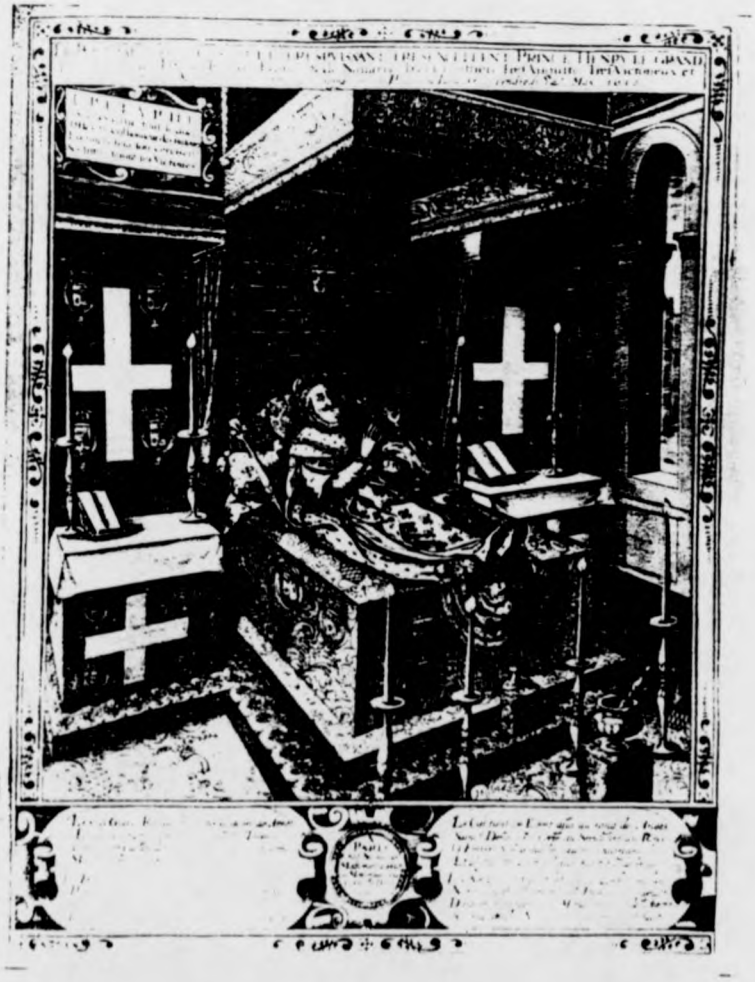
Henry IV's funeral provided the English with a recent model of French obsequies and may have generated interest in the effigy-centred lying-in-state ritual on the part of the organizers of James's funeral. 1610, the year of Henry's funeral, had seen the publication in Lyon of a French account of the funeral by Claude Morillon which soon after appeared in an English translation to be sold at Paul's Churchyard.[78]

[76] Smuts,p.186; Lockyer,p.297.

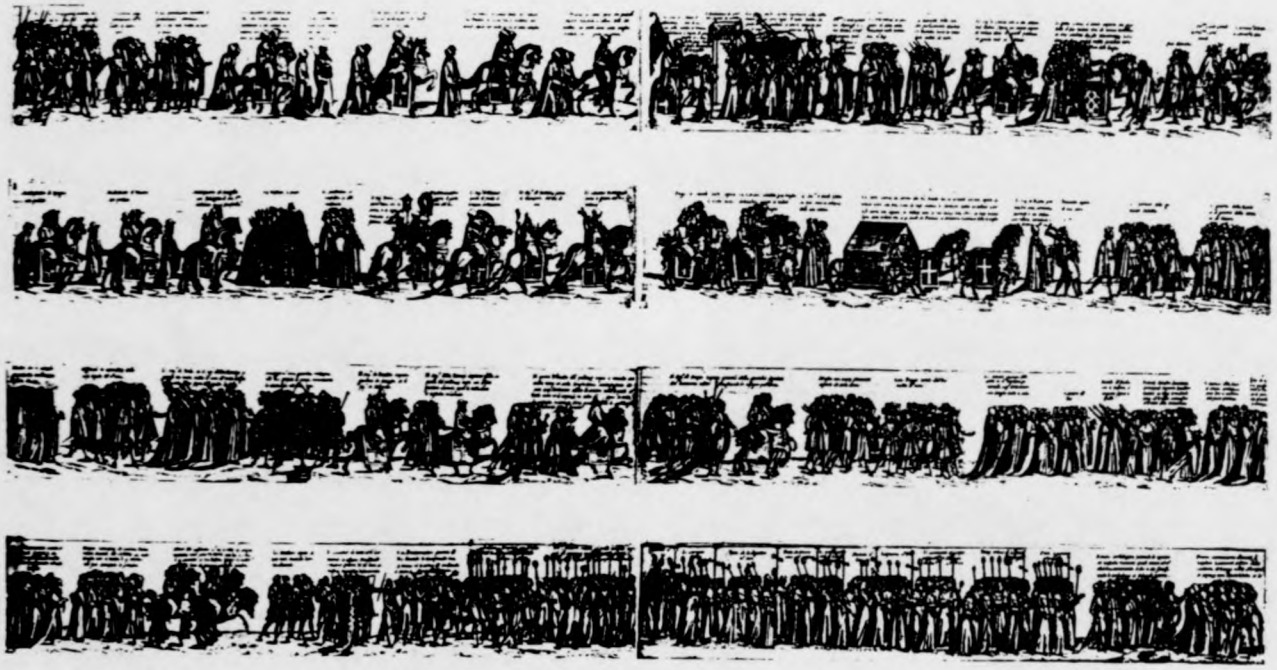
[77] *The Funerall Pompe and Obsequies of the most Mighty and Puissant Henry the Fourth, King of France and Navarre, solemnized at Paris, and at St. Denis, the 29 and 30 daies of June last past* (London: [n. pub.], 1610),p.3; Rosalind K. Marshall, *Henrietta Maria: the Intrepid Queen* (London: H.M.S.O., 1990),p.4; Harris and Higgott,p.191. See also figures 92 and 94.

[78] *L'Ordre de la Pompe Funebre Oservee au convoy et Funerailles du Tres-chretien, Tres-puissant et Tres victorieux Prince, Henry le Grand, Roy de France et de Navarre* (Lyon: Claude Morillon, 1610); *The Funerall Pompe and Obsequies of the most mighty and puissant Henry the Fourth, King of France* (London: [n. pub.], 1610). On enthusiastic English participation in the wars of Henry IV, see Hugh M. Richmond,

92. Henry IV's funeral effigy, Musée Carnavalet, Paris.



93. Effigy of Henry IV on the bed of state, BN Cabinet des Estampes, Hennin XVII fol.23.



94. The funeral procession of Henry IV (1610), from Francesco Vallegio et Catarin Doini, *Pompe Funerali fatte in Parigi nella morte dell' invitissimo Henrico IIII Re di Francia et Navarra*, after BN Cabinet des Estampes, Hennin XVIII fols 31-5.

The translation of Claude Morillon's account of the obsequies was not the only English source for the effigy lying-in-state of Henry IV's funeral. André Favyn's *Le Theatre d'Honneur and de Chevalrie* (Paris: Robert Foüet, 1620), which was translated into English and published in London under the title *The Theatre of Honour and Knighthood*, included an account of the same funeral. Pollard has the publication date as 1626 but the printed date in the copy held at the Bodleian is 1623 with a pencil correction to 1626. If it was indeed printed in 1623, the detailed description of Henry IV's lying-in-state ritual with the serving of the effigy would have been available as a model for the James and Lennox funerals. The English translation was dedicated to Henry Montagu (1563? - 1642), the Earl of Manchester, who was to be on the commission that Charles appointed to make the arrangements for his father's funeral."

The French accounts of the funeral of Henry IV include one by Pierre Matthieu which incorporates the first known explicit articulation of the effigy symbolism." His remarks were prompted by a dispute between the Bishops and Parlement as to who should accompany the effigy in the funeral convoy. Some Englishmen were certainly aware of this dispute. It is referred to in a letter from a M. Beaulieu to the diplomat

Puritans and Libertines: Anglo-French Literary Relations in the Reformation (London: University of California Press, 1981),p.298.

"André Favyn, *The Theatre of Honour and Knighthood* (London: [n. pub.], [1623 (?)]),p.516. Interestingly Montagu wrote a paper on the antiquity of festivals for which he consulted Sir Robert Cotton and his library, Sharpe (1979),p.35.

"Giesey (1960),p.179.

William Trumbull at Brussels with an account of the funeral procession of the French King which he had witnessed.[81] Matthieu remarked that, 'Autrefois l'effigie estoit possée sur le cercueil, pour esmouvoir le peuple à honorer le corps qui estoit dedans, et pour monstrer que le Roy ne meurt point'.[82] Matthieu writes from the point of view of one for whom the symbolic meaning of the effigy was no longer current. As I explained above, by the time of Henry IV's death, the symbolism of the royal funeral had been deliberately undercut by Michel de L'Hôpital.

The stress on the fictive nature of the effigy rituals may well have been imported with the ceremonial forms themselves, making them more acceptable and appealing to the English. Conscious artifice, as we have seen, permeated the church service at James's funeral and attention was overtly drawn to that artifice through the medium of the sermon. It is not difficult to see that the French effigy lying-in-state ritual was pervaded with the same fictive quality. The exploitation of images and even the acts of homage to an image required by the effigy lying-in-state ritual would be more permissible in the eyes of those Englishmen who, unsympathetic with Laudian

[81]Winwood,III,188-9. Beaulieu also reports that not all the ambassadors that were in Paris took part. *L'Ordre de la Pompe Funebre* (1610) mentions only those of Savoy, Venice and Spain. Again the absence of the others may be explained partly because of precedence disputes and partly because of religious differences.

[82]Pierre Matthieu, 'Histoire de la mort de Henri IV', in *Archives Curieuses de L'Histoire de France Depuis Louis XI Jusqu'à Louis XVIII*, ed. by M. L. Cimber and F. Danjou, 30 vols (Paris Bourgogne & Martinet, 1834-41), 1st series,XIV,77, cited by Giesey (1960),p.180 n. 10. No date for this source is given by Giesey but he suggests that Matthieu was writing in 1610 about earlier funerals.

ceremonial reform, retained Protestant worries about the legitimacy of showing homage to the image of the Prince, if their basis in fiction were openly acknowledged.[1]

The conscious artifice of the English staging of the effigy lying-in-state ritual is signalled in a striking manner. In the French tradition, after the lying-in-state, the royal effigy would appear in the funeral procession. The effigy of James that had been on display at Denmark House did not. The surviving funeral accounts make it clear that two effigies were prepared.[2]

Paid to Maximilian Coult for making the body of the representacion with several joyntes in the armes leggs and body to be moved to several postures and for setting up the same in Westminster Abbey and for his attendance there xli - -

[...]

Item for making a representation suddenly to serve only at Denmarke house untill the funerall and for his attendance there at divers times xli - -

The Denmark House effigy had to be prepared at great speed in order to be ready for display so soon after the King's death. A death mask may have been used in the preparation of both effigies; the accounts for the funeral include an item 'for the moulding of the King's face'.[3] Daniel Parkes provided

[1]Chapter 5,pp.188-9.

[2]P.R.O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I, Vol. 557, cited by Hope,p.557.

[3]Hope,p.557. Compare with the preparation of Francis I's effigy. Howgrave-Graham (p.160) marshals together some evidence which suggests that effigies were prepared with some urgency. The effigy of Anne of Bohemia was made in less than ten days, while the accounts relating to the funeral of Elizabeth of York state that the joiners received four pence for one day's work and eight pence for a whole night.

two sets of periwigs and eyebrows. The Westminster Abbey effigy had a more complex design with jointed limbs to facilitate the removal of the effigy from the hearse to the effigy 'chapel'."

The public use of two effigies seems to affirm the fictive nature of the effigy rituals and to undermine any potentially mystical interpretation of the effigy preserving James's kingship prior to the public appearance of King Charles in the funeral and the ritual succession of the offering ceremony. The effigy lying-in-state ritual of James was, I suggest, theatrical in tone. Further, the resultant royal theatre of death occupied, it may be argued, a liminal area in which the lines marking out the idolatrous were deliberately blurred, creating a space within which a *religion royale* could develop. In the context of the funeral, this *religion royale* was articulated through the sermon but also operated in the realm of the affective. The effigies, in the lying-in-state ceremony, procession and church service, created a sense of a rightly ordered patriarchal monarchy through the process of sublimation.

Another element of the effigy lying-in-state ceremony indicates to what extent this *religion royale*, which would flourish during Charles's reign, was already apparent at James's funeral." Six candlesticks were placed at the corners of the bed of state where James's effigy lay. In each

"Hope,p.558. For Prince Henry's jointed effigy, see chapter 8,pp.267-8.

"See chapter 6,pp.210-12.

a four foot taper of virgin wax burned through the night."[11] The effect was to render the resultant scene yet more theatrical, the candles lighting up the features of the effigy and making its regalia sparkle. In addition they brought the ritual closer to the French model, where candles always burned beside the *lit d'honneur*."[12] We have seen that torches and candles were stripped from funeral symbolism at the time of the Reformation because of their connotations of popery and intercession for the dead. Similarly, as recently as 1614, Chamberlain had condemned the funeral of Northampton, where candles had burned around the corpse, as distinctly popish."[13] Now candles were being used at a royal funeral. To add to the Catholic resonance on the occasion of James's lying-in-state, the silver candlesticks used were a set that Charles had brought back from his abortive trip to Spain in 1623. Finally, James's body lay beneath the effigy, thereby increasing the connotations of intercession and popery still further."[14]

While in court ceremony, candles were thoroughly re-legitimized, for others they remained taboo. Thomas Warmstry was still referring to 'candles in the day time' as the 'embleme of a fruitless prelacy or clergy in the church' in

"Nichols (1828),IV,1038.

"See Appendix II.

"Chapter 7,pp.235-6.

"CA, Nayler,p.28. There were, however, no candles on the hearse for the church service.

the 1630s.[91]

Yet, however 'Catholic' some might perceive the trappings of the James's funeral rituals to be, the core of the church ceremony remained Protestant, as was underlined by the behaviour of the French ambassadors who withdrew from the service during prayers, deeming them incompatible with their faith.[93]

The Protestant-Catholic mix in the funeral ceremonies is indicative of the confused religious signals that emanated from James's court, reaching a climax towards the end of the reign but discernible even in the early years as the programme of tomb construction discussed in chapter 7 indicated. Catholic ritual elements might enhance the theatricality of the *religion royale* but they inevitably carried with them signals of doubtful religious allegiance. For many the effigy lying-in-state ritual would remain an example of popish idolatry in contravention of the second commandment.

The English thus developed the effigy lying-in-state ritual and enacted a magnificent display of loyalty to the dead King. Apart from the French ambassador's behaviour, the service took place as planned: the funeral successfully enacted the transfer of monarchial power. This, however, was a 'closed' coterie ritual unseen by the majority of the citizens of the

[91]Warmstry, *A Convocation Speech [...] against images, altars, crosses, the new canons, and the oath* (London: [n. pub.], 1641),pp.2,5-6,10,13-5 cited by Tyacke,p.242.

[93]CSPV,XIX (1625-6),55.

capital."[11] Yet although the church service was also only attended by a relatively exclusive number, they included representatives of a broader range of social groups. In addition, some elements of the funeral service were to be preserved in the public domain. Although the hearse was probably broken up and distributed amongst the heralds, to whom it belonged by way of perquisite, James's funeral effigy joined the royal effigy display in the Abbey and Williams's sermon was soon to be in print."[12] As far as I am aware this was the first royal funeral sermon to be published and is indicative of the highly conscious manner in which the royal theatre of death was being promoted to a wide audience."[13] In the main, however, the public impression of the proceedings would come from the most 'open' segment, the funeral processions. Processional rituals, as we have already discovered in the context of the obsequies of Anne of Denmark, were more vulnerable to disruption than church services and, if disruption occurred, it was very public. The funeral processions of James I did not run smoothly.

[11]On the general propensity of the Caroline court towards closed ritual. See Smuts,p.238.

[12]Dallaway,p.260; McClure,II,616.

[13]Abbot's funeral sermon for Prince Henry does not appear to have been printed. See Nichols (1828),II,502.

THE FUNERAL PROCESSIONS OF JAMES I

The first procession, which conveyed James's body from Theobalds to Denmark House, took place at around 9.00 pm on a Monday night. The size and content of the procession are indicative of its public nature, illustrating just how acceptable and fashionable nocturnal processions had become. 'The convoy was well accompanied by all the nobilitie about the towne, the pensioners, officers, and household servants, besides the Lord maior and aldermen'. The procession was attended by guards on foot and horseback and followed by many lords in coaches. The whole cavalcade was lit by the light of numerous torches which, according to Mr. Neve numbered 3600. The way-maker attended the heralds all the way to give directions and the Officers of Arms and gentleman ushers uncovered their heads in every town and village. Such ceremonious behaviour indicates that the procession was expected to attract attention. Circumstances were not on the side of magnificent display, however: 'the shew wold have ben solemne but that yt was marred by fowle weather, so that there was nothing to be seen but coaches and torch'.[11]

The funeral procession was to be disrupted by the participants themselves. The Privy Council received a number of petitions from individuals and groups wishing to be included in the list of the King's servants. This would ensure a place in the funeral procession and, more importantly, the receipt of a mourning cloak, a garment of quality cloth which would have

[11]McClure,II,609; Nichols (1828),IV,1038 n.2; CSPV,XIX (1625-6),10.

held considerable value, particularly for the poorer members of the community."[99] Petitioners included servants of the late Queen Anne who felt they should be treated as a part of James's household. Disputes arose between the servants of the new and old Kings. There was, for example, a quarrel between the Duke of Lennox and the Viscount of Andover, over who should take the role of the Master of the Horse in the funeral procession. Charles decided in favour of the former, but feelings rankled."[100]

Charles tried to use the funeral to quell fears that there would be increased toleration of Catholics under his rule. Catholic noblemen were barred from James's funeral and were not included in the list of titled nobility to which mourning blacks would be distributed. The Venetian ambassador, Pesaro, reports that this was 'to make a mark of them [...] They [Charles and his advisors] will show vigour about religion, to the satisfaction of the general'.[101] As I demonstrated in chapter 6, there were, however, many other indications of a drift towards greater sympathy with Catholicism which countered the signals given out at the funeral.[102]

[99]Non-participants seem to have been given mourning cloth as well since the Council received other petitions which were solely requests for a portion of the King's blacks. This implies that the practice was to distribute a portion of mourning cloth to the poor, see CSPD,I (1625-6),pp.4,15. All the people took a piece of black cloth from the church after the funeral service of Mary Tudor, Nichols (1848),p.183. On the impact of royal funerals on the London economy, see Loach on the funeral of Henry VIII (1547),p.68.

[100]CSPV,XIX (1625-6),21.

[101]CSPV,XIX (1625-6),4,30.

[102]Chapter 6,pp.212-3.

Disputes dogged the organizers even during the procession. Pesaro, the Venetian Ambassador, prepared very costly mourning for himself and his household, spending around 1,000 crowns, as he was constantly to remind the Senate in the hope of receiving financial recompense.[102] In the event, he did not take part in the procession having been, he alleged, told by Lewkenor, the Master of Ceremonies, that none of the foreign ambassadors would be in attendance. Spectating on the day, Pesaro saw the French ambassadors in position. He was furious and took the matter up with the Lord Chamberlain while the procession was still in progress. Pesaro pursued the matter vigorously until Lewkenor was finally suspended from office in October 1625.[103]

Crowds were expected to witness the funeral proceedings. Fifty men were employed 'to make way and keep the streets for the proceedings clear' and special provision was made for some of the spectators. At Whitehall, for example, scaffolds, licensed by Arundel, were erected within the tiltyard. It is reasonable to assume that the streets of the procession route were 'railed' in order to separate participants and spectators, as was normal practice for processional occasions. Certainly this was done for the funeral of Queen Anne.[104]

The funeral cortège was so long that it was 5.00 p.m. before all the mourners were inside Westminster Abbey. Between 5,000

[102]CSPV,XIX (1625-6),5,31.

[103]CSPV,XIX (1625-6),54,64,193; Acts of the Privy Council of England (1625-6),pp.195-6.

[104]Gittings,p.221; CSPD,I, (1625-6),19; McClure,II,234.

and 9,000 participated in the procession.[105] The sheer scale of the enterprise may have contributed to the performance falling short of the desired ideal paradigm of social order and collective effervescence. Chamberlain reports, 'in summe all was performed with great magnificence, but the order was very confused and disorderly'.[106] Ironically where, in 1603, genuine worries about civil disorder had been met with an undisrupted funeral procession, in 1625 what should have been a smoothly-staged ritual occasion was disturbed.

Chamberlain estimated that the whole event cost £50,000.[107] It may be true that by the mid-1620s some English noblemen were cutting back on funeral expenses but the same cannot be said of Charles's expenditure on the funeral of King James.[108] The arrival of Queen Henrietta Maria necessitated the expenditure of a further £5,000 on blacks for herself and her train.[109] The wedding had already taken place in Paris, with the Duke de Chevreuse acting as proxy for the King, but a total of £60,000 was to be borrowed from the City to fund the English celebrations of the marriage and the double coronation

[105]Chamberlain estimates 9,000, see McClure,II,616; while Pesaro sets the number at 5,000, see CSPV,XIX (1625-6),55. There were 2,000 participants in Prince Henry's procession and 1600 in Elizabeth's.

[106]McClure,II,616. Chamberlain also reports that James's funeral 'was abridged' but it is not at all clear what he means by this statement, ibid.,p.608.

[107]McClure,II,616. Frederick John Varley, *Oliver Cromwell's Latter End* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1939),p.27, puts the figure lower, at £30,000 but does not cite his source.

[108]Smuts,p.200; Gittings,pp.195-7; Stone (1965),p.577.

[109]CSPD,I (1625-6),p.70. On the general distribution of mourning to the family at the funeral, see CA, Briscoe MS I fol.2.

ceremony.[110] Coke's report on behalf of the King to the Commons on 8 July 1625 stated that 'the ordinary revenue is clogged with debts and exhausted with the late King's funeral and other expenses of necessity and honour'.[111] While the church service and lying-in-state rituals would seem to have been a success, these were observed only by the privileged few. One would expect, however, that the problems experienced with the procession might have led to questions being asked as to the efficacy of such grand funeral rituals and whether they constituted value for money. Would the English abandon the royal funeral ceremony, as the French did after the funeral of Henry IV where the procession had been dogged with disputes and the effigy ritual had been stripped of its symbolism and totally devalued?[112]

'ROYAL' FUNERALS POST-1625

Certainly, Charles was dissauded from giving Buckingham a state funeral and tomb when he died in 1628 but this was at least as much attributable to the unpopularity of the favourite as to cost-cutting measures. Buckingham was interred by night to avoid a public demonstration. Charles's only gesture was to insist that the magnificent monument erected by Buckingham's wife was located in the Henry VII

[110]CSPD,I (1625-6),12,33; Marshall (1990),p.22.

[111]CSPD,I (1625-6),56.

[112]See this chapter,pp.302,314-5.

Chapel at Westminster Abbey, the royal necropolis.[113]

Charles himself would of course never be accorded a full royal funeral ritual.[114] He was buried simply and quietly at Windsor, avoiding the possibility of a Westminster tomb becoming a focus for pilgrimage and dissent.[115] Yet the elborate form of the royal funeral complete with effigy ritual was set to survive into the middle of the seventeenth century and in a surprising context: the funerals of Robert, Earl of Essex (1646) and Lord Protector Cromwell (1658). Essex's effigy lay in state at Essex House prior to the funeral procession and remained in Westminster Abbey, displayed in a hearse for one month after the funeral.[116]

Kinnersly, Master of the Wardrobe, was in charge of the funeral arrangements for Oliver Cromwell. His body lay in state at Somerset House, in a chamber hung with black velvet, in a ritual that was modelled on the funeral of Philip II of Spain (d.1598). An effigy also lay in state in the same chamber but was located somewhere other than above the body. It was on display until 1 November when it was transferred to the Great Hall. Once in the Great Hall, the effigy, royally dressed in a gown of crimson velvet with a scepter in his hand and a crown upon his head, was displayed in a *standing in*

[113]Smuts,p.42; Parry (1981),p.144.

[114]Fritz,p.70.

[115]Bland,p.54.

[116]*The True Mannor and Forme of the Proceeding to the Funerall of the Right Honorable Earle of Essex* (London: [n.pub.], 1646),pp.15,24. Gittings (p.231) discusses how the College of Arms was revived by Parliament to arrange this funeral.

state ritual. The term *standing in state* is ambiguous but probably refers to the effigy lying in an upright position like the effigy of Henry IV in figure 93. There were 'four or five hundred candles, [...] so placed around near the roof of the hall, that the light they gave seemed like the rays of the sun: by all which he was represented to be now in a state of glory'.[117] The effigy remained in this chamber until 22 November, All Souls day. The total lying-in-state period was a month, in emulation of the royal form of the ritual.

Cromwell's funeral demonstrates that elaborate funeral ritual, while it may have been in decline as far as the aristocracy as a whole was concerned, was still deemed valuable by the ruling elite in the mid-seventeenth century.[118] It also underlines the way in which funeral ritual practices had come to be divorced from religious allegiance, at least in the minds of those in political power.[119] The 'civill respects' which were excluded from the prohibition on funeral ceremony found in the Commonwealth's *Directory for the Publique Worship of God* (1644) in effect allowed the trappings of Catholic funerals to be used at the funeral of the leader of the Puritan revolution

[117]Firth, C. H., *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow: 1625-1672*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894),II,47-8.

[118]On the decline of the College of Arms, see Fritz,pp.75-7; Wagner (1967),p.237; Litten,pp.189-94.

[119]The main source for Cromwell's funeral is Frederick John Varley, *Oliver Cromwell's Latter End* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1939). Edmund Ludlow (1617?-1692), who became alienated from Cromwell after he had been proclaimed Protector, gives a very negative view of the funeral proceedings saying, for example, that the people threw dirt at his escutcheon which had been hung over the great gate at Somerset House in emulation of royal funerals. See Firth (1889),III,48.

for political ends.[110] Having resisted coronation during his lifetime, Cromwell was crowned in death in order to facilitate the succession of his son.[111]

Cromwell's funeral procession imitated that of James I but was even more elaborate and costly.[112] It was clearly intended to attract large crowds. The churchwardens' accounts of St. Margaret's, Westminster include £12 received 'for 240 foot of ground in the old church yard lett to build scaffolds at the Lord Protectors funerall, at the rate of 1*s* the foot'.[113] The effigy was displayed in a hearse during the church service at Westminster Abbey. Both hearse and effigy remained in position until the fall of the Commonwealth while the coffin was interred in the Abbey.[114] Cromwell's body had, however, been separately buried before his funeral, apparently because of unsuccessful embalming. When the coffin was exhumed it was found empty and thus his corpse escaped violation. The

[110] *A Directory for the Publique Worship of God Throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland* (London: [n. pub.], 1644). This was largely a translation of the 1566 *Book of Discipline*. See Rowell,p.82. On the elaborate funerals of the New England Puritans, see David E. Stannard, *The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture and Social Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977). See also chapters 2,pp.96-7; 5,pp.180-1; 6,p.200.

[111] Gittings,p.230. A full account of the funeral proceedings appeared in the newspapers.

[112] Varley,p.29; C. H. Firth, ed., *The Clarke Papers: Selections from the Papers of William Clarke*, 4 vols (London: Longmans & Green, 1891-1901),III (1899),pp.167-8. For the funeral expense accounts, see BL, Harley MS 1372 fol.2 and 1438 fols 8-10, cited by Dallaway,p.280. Also see E. S. De Beer ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955),III,224.

[113] Cox (1913),p.174.

[114] Cromwell's family adopted the Abbey as its necropolis. See Stanley (1869),pp.183-4. The hearse was claimed by the Abbey monument keepers in 1658. See WA, MS 6371.

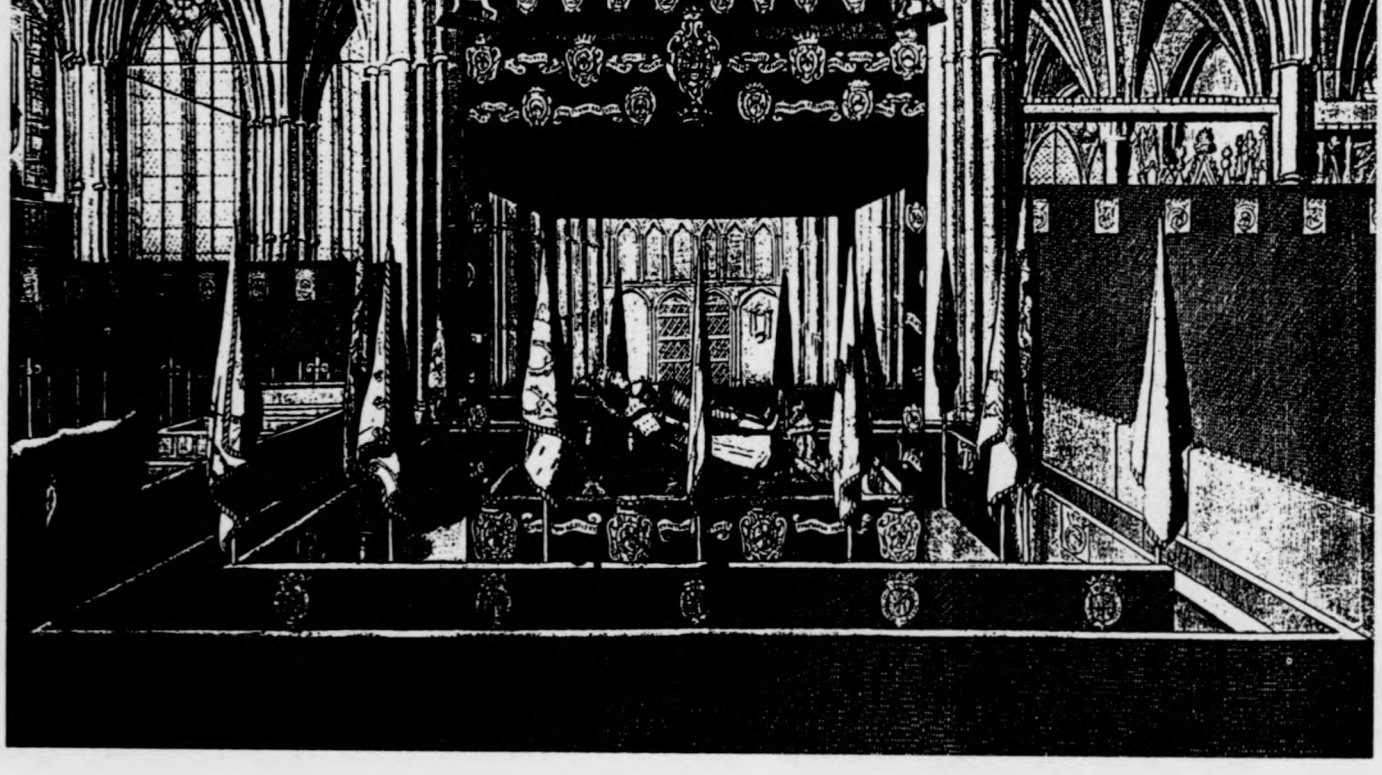
funeral effigy was less fortunate: it was hung by a rope from a window of Whitehall palace on 14 June 1660.[115]

The last occasion upon which an effigy was used for the funeral procession and service was at the funeral of General Monk, Duke of Albermarle (d. 1670), a prime mover in the restoration of Charles II (figures 95 and 96).[116] For the funeral procession of Charles II (1685) and subsequent sovereigns, the effigy was replaced by an imperial crown, borne upon a velvet cushion before the coffin, in a fashion reminiscent of the funeral of Mary Queen of Scots. Similarly a crown replaced the effigy in the lying-in-state ceremony. The reasons posited for the change are various and cannot all be dealt with here, but the shift to a constitutional monarchy was surely significant. The perpetuity of kingship symbolized by the effigy was clearly no longer appropriate in post-Civil War England. An effigy was made of Charles II but its use was restricted to the post-funeral display in the Abbey. Charles II's effigy stood over his burial vault in the Henry VII Chapel until at least 1723. It was the Restoration rather than the Reformation that saw the disappearance of the effigy from funeral rituals.[117]

[115]Varley,p.42.

[116]Hope,pp.559-563.

[117]CA, Briscoe MS I fols 1-4; Fritz,pp.66,70,75; *Westminster Abbey*,p.20. Antonia Fraser incorrectly states that an effigy of Charles II was used in his funeral, *King Charles II* (London, 1979),pp.458-60. See also Tanner (1935),pp.170-1. The effigy of Mary II was similarly only displayed in the Abbey. See Lois G. Schwoerer, *The Revolution of 1688-9, changing perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992),p.146.



95. Hearse of General Monck, Duke of Albemarle, 1670, engraving after Francis Barlow in Francis Sandford, *Order of the [...] Interment of George Duke of Albemarle.*

96. Funeral Effigy of General Monck, Duke of Albemarle, 1670, engraving after Francis Barlow in Francis Sandford, *Order of the [...] Interment of George Duke of Albemarle*.

POSTHUMOUS IMAGES OF KING JAMES

James, like Prince Henry, did not receive a tomb monument. Instead he was interred with Henry VII beneath Toreggiano's brass tomb and Anne was placed beside him. Although Inigo Jones appears to have put together grand plans for a Stuart mausoleum, they were never to be put into action.[118] While this project may simply have been too costly, the reason for the non-erection of a tomb monument was not parsimony on the part of Charles, as the trouble and expense taken with the funeral arrangements indicate. James's funeral effigy joined the earlier royal funeral effigies in the Abbey. The effigy of James that survives at the Abbey has been identified as the Denmark House effigy. It seems to have been brought to Westminster to replace the procession effigy which had been 'broaken by the often removeing of the representation'.[119] As in the case of Prince Henry Stuart, the continued display of the funeral effigy precluded the need for a tomb effigy and monument. As Weever reports, both tombs and funeral effigies functioned as a tourist attraction in early seventeenth century London: 'What concourse of people come daily to view the lively Statues and stately Monuments in Westminster Abbey'.[130]

In addition, Charles was to provide other posthumous representations of his father. Within a few years of his father's death, Charles commissioned a set of images of his

[118]Parry (1981),p.259.

[119]Hope,p.559.

[130]Weever,p.41.

father to adorn the ceiling of the Banqueting House at Whitehall. The paintings, executed by Rubens, glorify the life of James, using allegory to justify the divine right rule of the Stuart kings. One of the panels shows James passing judicial sentence in a scene deliberately imitating a formula for depicting the Last Judgement. Thus directly above his head, Charles's father became an image of God. The central panel depicts the Apotheosis of King James, an iconographic strategy closely associated with Counter-Reformation baroque artists.[111] Once again, in the court coterie setting, the *religion royale* of the Caroline court was in evidence.

There would be other images of James, visible to all. In 1625 an equestrian statue of James was erected outside the Royal Exchange at Aldersgate. Charles donated £4,000 towards the renovation of St. Paul's so that a giant Corinthian portico could be constructed at the cathedral's main entrance. The portico was to support brass statues of himself and his father. Hubert le Sueur also made bronze statues of James and Charles for Winchester cathedral in 1638.[112] Thus, without erecting a tomb, Charles used images of his father to promote the Stuart dynasty in the public arena.

[111]Parry (1981),pp.33-7,52; Smuts,p.237; Per Palme, *The Triumph of Peace: A Study of the Whitehall Banqueting House* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956),p.242.

[112]Mercer,p.253; Whinney,p.87; Smuts,p.127; Harris and Higgott,pp.238-9,250. A statue a James was also erected in the quadrangle at the Bodleian Library.

EPILOGUE: ROYAL FUNERALS AND FUNERAL SYMBOLISM ON THE ELIZABETHAN AND JACOBEAN STAGE

Introduction

My concern in this chapter is not with the analysis of whole plays but with specific scenes or themes our understanding and appreciation of which can be greatly enhanced by a discussion which focuses on their relation to contemporary funeral practice. The process of contextualization can also, perhaps, brings us closer to the experience of an original playhouse audience. Before proceeding to discussion of the individual plays, it is worth noting that royal death directly impinged on the players. After Elizabeth's death, for example, the theatres were closed for a full year.[1]

AUDIENCE FUNERAL SCHEMA AND THE FUNERAL OF HENRY V IN *HENRY VI PART I* ACT I SCENE i

Audience Funeral Schema

The opening scene of *Henry VI Part I* is structured around the funeral of Henry V.[1] This section will focus on an analysis of the dynamics of this stage representation of a royal funeral but first it is important to establish the performance context.

[1]Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama* (London: Macmillan, 1991),p.11. See also chapter 9,p.272.

[1]All quotations are from the Michael Hattaway edition, *The First Part of Henry VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Henry VI Part I, or at least a version of it, was written and performed by 8 August 1592, the date of entry in the Stationer's Register of Thomas Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse*, a work which refers to the play. It is possible that Shakespeare began to write the Henry VI sequence soon after the publication of the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* in 1587. Honigmann has suggested that *I Henry VI* could have been written as early as 1589.[3] Hattaway thinks it was written before the other two parts of the sequence at some date between 1589 and 1591. The 1590s were, of course, a period fraught with speculation over the succession question which Elizabeth continued to leave unsettled. The succession implications of royal funerals would have had particular resonance in this period.

Available evidence, in particular an entry in Henslowe's *Diary* referring to '*harey the vi*', indicates that the play, or a version of it, was performed at the Rose on 3 March 1592, and fourteen more times up until 19 June.[4]

The London audience at the Rose would have been likely to include a range of people from different strata in society: a few courtiers, some merchants, apprentices, shopkeepers and the like. In 1592 Nashe identified the classes who frequented the playhouses as 'Gentlemen of the Court, the Innes of Courte, and the number of Captaines and Souldiers about

[3]Honigmann, E. A. J., *Shakespeare's Impact on His Contemporaries* (London: Macmillan, 1982),p.88.

[4]Hattaway,pp.36-7.

London'.[5] When London constables raided a theatre in 1602 they found 'not only [...] Gentlemen and servingmen, but Lawyers, Clarkes, country men that had lawe cawses, aye the Quens men, knightes and as it was credibly reported one Erle'. Admission charges began at a penny so anyone earning a reasonable wage could afford to go.[6]

What kind of previous experience of royal funerals would an audience of this composition have had? To put it another way, borrowing a useful term from cognitive psychology, what kind of schema would they have brought to the performance?

As we have seen, a royal funeral had been performed just two years or so before the production of the play: the funeral of Mary Queen of Scots. The Peterborough location makes it unlikely that any members of the Rose audience would have witnessed the occasion. The last London royal funeral had been Mary Tudor's held on 15th Dec. 1558, thirty years or so before the performance of the play. Within the living memory of some members of the audience, perhaps, but hardly of immediate concern.

As the reader may recall from chapter 4, a very grand funeral had, however, occurred much more recently than that of Mary Tudor: the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney.[7] Sidney's funeral took place on 16 February 1587 and the cortège followed more or less the same order of the traditional royal funeral

[5]Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992),p.217.

[6]Platter,pp.166-7; Gurr (1992),p.214.

[7]See chapter 4,pp.124-7.

although smaller in scale and lacking an effigy.[8] The funeral journey which bore Sidney's body back from Zutphen in the Netherlands, where he had sustained his mortal blow, forms a marked parallel with the journey required to transport the body of Henry V back from France in 1422 as described in John Stow's popular *Chronicles*.[9] Sidney's corpse was taken to Flushing and then borne in a ship hung with mourning drapes to Tower wharf in east London. On 16 February 1587 a funeral procession conveyed his body to St. Pauls. In an inset at the end of his famous book of engravings commemorating the funeral, Thomas Lant describes the crowd of onlookers:

> He was carried from the Minorities (wch is without Aldgate) along the cheefe streets of the cytye unto the Cathedreall church of St Paules the which streets all along were so thronged with people that the mourners had scarcely rome to pass; the houses likewise weare as full as they might be.[10]

Memories of Sidney's funeral might well have been triggered in the minds of the audience. The opening stage direction states that 'dead march' accompanied the mourners as they entered. If Long is correct in his supposition that the 'dead march was played by the drum alone, probably muffled', the allusion to the Sidney funeral is even stronger. The drums, draped in black, that appeared on that occasion, were only used at military funerals and were not included in royal funeral

[8]Nichols (1823),II,483-494.

[9]Stow,p.362. The *Chronicles* came out in ever-expanding editions from 1565-1580 with reprints to 1633, see A. W. Pollard and others, eds., *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, 3 vols (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1986-1991). For the 1580 edition see, John Stow, *The Chronicles of England, from Brute unto this present yeare 1580* (Newberie: H. Bynneman, 1580).

[10]Lant,p.30.

processions.[11]

The crowds of Londoners that attended the Sidney funeral were, however, restricted to viewing the outdoor part of the ritual proceedings: the funeral procession. Shakespeare lets his audience into the relatively closed section of the ritual performance, the offering in the Abbey, which would have been reserved for participants in the funeral itself. Admittedly representatives of many social classes participated in Sidney's funeral procession, including earls, knights, aldermen, soldiers, the poor and members of the Guild of Grocers (figure 97), and they would all have witnessed the offering ceremony.[12] Still, the actual numbers involved in this and other aristocratic funerals were limited and one might question the accessibility of Shakespeare's representation of the funeral offering and its symbolism to the average member of the Rose audience.

The heraldic model had, however, long been emulated at funerals of the rising middle class. The pages of Henry Machyn's diary (1550-63) are packed with accounts not only of the funerals of noblemen but also those of mayors, aldermen, merchants, guild members, citizens and their wives.[13] It is important to recognize the homogeneity of the experience of

[11]See BL, Harley MS 2129 fol.67; chapter 1,p.33 and Lant,pp.4,29. J. H. Long, *Shakespeare's Use of Music: The Histories and Tragedies* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1971),p.6. Long's comment is based on Francis Markham, *Five Decades of Epistles of War* (London: Augustine Matthewes, 1622),pp.57-8.

[11]On the anomalous and subversive presence of the latter, see Strickland,pp.32-3.

[11]Nichols (1848),pp.116;247;245;294 (refer to index for may other examples). See also Duffy,p.143.

97. Company of Grocers at Sir Philip Sidney's funeral (1587) from Johann Theodor de Bry's engraved illustrations after Thomas Lant's *Funeral of Philip Sidney* (1587).

98. The royal arms with France quartering England,as first adopted by Edward III and, in this form, by Henry IV.

funeral ritual across this social spectrum. Although differences in rank were acknowledged in the degree of pomp and magnificence of a particular funeral, the basic forms of the procession and church services remained the same. Although it occurred slightly later in the period, the funeral of Sir Geoffrey Ellwas, Alderman of London (14/5/1616), serves as a typical example. The procession, which began at the Merchant Taylor's Hall, included the people of the parish as well as the guild members. Both parties were also present at the offering.[10] Many of Shakespeare's Rose audience are likely to have had immediate experience of the heraldic funeral forms described in chapter 1.

The Funeral Setting: an Analysis of the Performance Text

Henry VI Part I opens with a dead march and the entrance of the funeral procession of Henry V. Recent archaeological research at the site of the Rose theatre, rediscovered on the South Bank in 1989, suggests that the shape of its performance space may have been particularly conducive to the staging of processional scenes. It appears that the stage was significantly smaller and shallower, in relation to its width, than those at the Fortune and the Red Lion.[11] Instead of a

[10]BL, Harley 1368 fol.29. An early example of an heraldic ceremony for someone not a peer is the funeral of Sir J. Shaa, an alderman of London in 1504, CA, I Series MS III fol.63v. Machyn was a Merchant-Taylor and thus had business reasons for his journalistic fascination with funerals.

[11]John Orrell and Andrew Gurr, 'What the Rose Can Tell us', *Times Literary Supplement*, 9-15 June 1989,p.636. See also John Peter, 'How the Stones of the Rose Give Drama a New Shape', *Sunday Times*, 28 May 1989,p.C7; Gurr (1992),pp.123-

three-dimensional performance suggested by the thrust stage, the Rose performance space suggests a two-dimensional, linear representation: a 'picture', with the majority of the audience viewing from the front. This was a lay-out suited to the representation of processions.

It is not the whole of the procession that enters, but its core, centred around the coffin of the dead monarch. The section of the procession that enters includes the chief mourners, the Bishop of Winchester, probably the officiating prelate, and coffin, its bearers and the heralds, perhaps bearing the achievements of the dead King.

Shakespeare is careful to locate the opening scene through textual clues. While there is nothing to specify Westminster Abbey, the presumed location of a royal funeral, a church setting is clear from Bedford's reference to the altar (1.45). The funeral drapes which, as we have seen, were traditionally hung inside a church for a funeral are evoked by Bedford's opening line:

BEDFORD: Hung be the heavens with black! Yield day to night!
(1.1)

The emotive funeral setting is at once established.

The degree to which Lord Strange's Men would have attempted to reproduce the trappings of the real heraldic funeral is debatable. It is generally accepted that naturalistic stage settings were not attempted in the Elizabethan and Jacobean playhouses. Certainly any desire to visually locate such

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scenes as 'near Bordeaux' in the stage set of *Henry VI Part I* would seem misplaced.[16] It would, however, have been possible for the players to hire black cloths from the College of Arms. Evidence for such business activity on the part of the heralds is more abundant for the late seventeenth century but the accounts for the funeral of James Montagu (1618) include £5 'paid for the hire of Black Bayes to hang all the church and the 3 houses at Bathe'.[17] The College of Arms was located at Derby Place in the parishes of St. Benet and St. Peter between the south door of St. Paul's and Paul's Wharf. It was within easy reach of the playhouses.[18] An autograph manuscript of Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*, which was used in the theatre, suggests in that play, at least, an attempt was made to create a stage funeral tableau.[19]

As far as costume was concerned, the text makes it clear that the actors were wearing funeral blacks. Exeter remarks, 'We mourn in black' (1.17) and, later in the scene, Bedford is to remove his mourning robe saying, 'Away with these disgraceful wailing robes!' (1.86). Again mourning blacks could have been available for hire but the practice of providing mourning garments for the participants in funeral processions must have meant that they were in plentiful supply.[20] Henslowe's *Diary*

[16]Hattaway,p.59.

[17]Bodleian Library, North MSS c.29 fol.190. See also Bod., Top. Yorks MSS d.7 fols 5,19-20 and Gittings,p.181.

[18]Wagner (1967),p.182.

[19]*Antonio's Revenge* Act II Scene i. The stage direction mentions cornets, mourners with torches, streamers [banners] and heralds with a helm and sword, see Neill (1985),p.162.

[20]1593 would see the funeral of Lord Strange, patron of the players who are likely to have received mourning blacks for the occasion. (Players of the Queen's Revels and Queen

contains at least one payment for the acquisition of a black mourning cloak.[11] The hoods of the mourning garments could have been used to effect, suppressing the identity of the individual mourners as the procession enters and at the offering ritual begun at Bedford's behest. Similarly, removal of the hoods as the mourners begin to dispute would underline their return to individual factional interest.[12]

The stage presence of a coffin is also clear from Exeter's remark, 'Upon a wooden coffin we attend' (1.19). As we have seen, the coffin was placed within a hearse for the church services at heraldic funerals. There is a textual indication that Henry V's coffin may have been placed in a hearse-like construction once on stage.[13] As the third messenger prepares to communicate the news of Talbot's defeat and capture, he says, 'My gracious lords, to add to your laments/ Wherewith you now bedew King Henry's hearse' (11.103-4). A second possibility is that Henry's coffin was 'discovered' by the withdrawal of a curtain either from a discovery space in the back wall of the stage or from an on-stage booth structure.[14]

Anne's company were to take part in her funeral in 1619 thereby acquiring their own set of funeral blacks.) The Merchant Taylor's Hall was in Threadneedle Street. See Chambers (1923),II,118-128.

[11]The entry is for 16 June 1593, R. A. Foakes and R. T. Rickert, eds., *Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961),p.114.

[12]See chapter 1,pp.37-9.

[13]A stage hearse seems to be intended to hold the body of Zenocrate in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine II*, see II.iv.129-32 and V.iii.210-12.

[14]There is no surviving archaeological evidence for a discovery space. On the play text evidence for these structures see Gurr (1992),pp.159-60.

As we have seen, in the heraldic funeral the coffin would have been draped with a black pall, decorated with escutcheons bearing the arms of the defunct, his achievements, the helmet, shield, coat of arms, crest and gauntlets laid on top. Once again there is evidence that the College of Arms hired out hearses as well as the heraldic paraphernalia used to decorate them.[15] The achievements used in heraldic funerals were specially-produced imitations, ideal for use on the stage. By the early seventeenth century painter-stainers were subverting the College of Arms' monopoly on the provision of funeral accoutrements and they may have supplied the playhouses. The Painter-Stainers' hall was located in Trinity-lane, Southwark, close to the theatres on the Southbank.[16]

As we have seen it was customary for an effigy of the dead monarch to be placed upon the coffin at royal funerals. The historical Henry V had died in France. It took two and a half months to transport his body to London from the Bois de Vincennes. Given the inadequacy of contemporary embalming techniques, it was imperative that an effigy of Henry V was made to be displayed in place of the body in the funeral convoy. Stow described how upon the coffin was placed:

> A figure made of boiled hides or leather, representing his person, as nigh to the semblance of him as could be devised, painted curiously to the similitude of a living creature: upon whose head was set an Imperiall diadem of golde and precious stones [...] and besides that, when the bodie should pass through any good towne, a Canapie of marvellous great value was borne over the chariot, by men of

[15]See the funeral of Sir Nicholas Bacon in Bod., Ashmole MS 836 fol.35.

[16]Nichols (1848),p.xi. See also chapters 1,pp.40-1; and 8,p.267.

great worshippe.[17]

There is no indication in Shakespeare's text that he intended an effigy of Henry V to be placed upon the coffin for the performance of this play. While the cost of such a prop might have been prohibitive it was surely not impossible for such an effigy to be made for the players, or even for an actor to personate the effigy. An effigy is, however, improbable. They were not at the forefront of audience, or dramatist, consciousness in the early 1590s. The last occasion upon which an effigy had been displayed was at the funeral of Mary Tudor (1558). No effigy had been used at the recent funeral of Mary Queen of Scots and none, of course, had appeared at the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney. It was the funeral of Elizabeth in 1603, and the post-funeral display of funeral and tomb effigies, that thrust the emotive symbol of the royal effigy back into public awareness. A modern director could, however, make highly effective use of the stage presence of a life-like image of the dead Henry V. It would certainly add a new resonance to Exeter's 'Henry is dead, and never shall revive' (1.18) and Bedford's warning that Henry might rise from the dead (1.65). However, the textual references to Henry all dwell on his natural body and there are no invocations of the symbolism of the king's two bodies.[18]

[17]Stow,p.362. For another account see Hope,pp.535-6.

[18]On the use of the king's two bodies theory by Shakespeare in *Richard II* (1595?), see Kantorowicz,pp.24-41. See also Axton who looks at the theory in relation to other plays of the period.

The disruption and failure of ritual in this scene has, of course, been noted before.[19] However, when re-considered in the light of my work on contemporary elite and royal funerals, the symbolic structure becomes clearer and the modern reader is, perhaps, able to move closer towards the original audience experience of the scene.

In the absence of an effigy the offering ceremony is foregrounded. It is the offering ritual that forms the symbolic centre of the scene, as it did in contemporary funeral ceremonies. Bedford signals the beginning of the ritual with his 'Let's to the altar' (1.45). The stage mourners would perhaps have been grouped around Henry's hearse much in the manner of figure 23, as described in the account of the funeral of Edward, Earl of Derby given in chapter 1. Thus the symbolic duality of altar and hearse, that characterized contemporary funeral services, may well have been represented on the stage.[20]

The offering ceremony would not enact succession in a royal funeral until the obsequies of James I in 1625. Audiences at this juncture would, however, have been familiar with the offering ritual in a non-royal heraldic funeral, which in any case, of course, occurred much more freqently. On these occasions the succession symbolism was dominant. In the context of this scene, as I shall demonstrate, the importance

[19]Neill (1985),p.171; Hattaway,p.13.

[20]Chapter 1,pp.54-5.

of the succession issue increases the impact of the disruption of the rites that occurs in the scene.

Shakespeare prepares for the disruption that will occur in the stage representation of the offering ceremony from the beginning of the scene. The first source of disturbance is internal: the mourners themselves who have just entered in a processional display of hierarchic order. Initially their disunity is restrained, they merely vie for the best tribute to the memory of the monarch whose encoffined corpse lies amidst them, as they gather upon the stage. Gloucester's opening accolade (11.10-14) is countered by Winchester who tries to claim the dead King for the church (11.28-32). At once harmony is lost and the mourners' tributes descend into ignoble bickering. Gloucester accuses Winchester of being a sensual hypocrite who exploits the church for his own gains, while he in turn is labelled a hen-pecked husband under the thumb of a proud and dominant wife.

The effect is underscored by the subversion of traditional funeral symbolism. Attention moves away from the coffin and the dead King, the intended focus of this part of the ritual proceedings, to the conflicts of the living.[11] The black hooded robes worn by the mourners, intended to mask their everyday identities and homogenize their roles, are metaphorically stripped away as the mourners' exchanges reveal that they are individualistic petty politicians engaging in power games. The stability and political consensus of the

[11]Normally the focus of attention would remain the corpse until the offering, in the heraldic funeral, or, at the royal funeral, the interment and burial cries proclaiming the succession. See chapters 1,pp.62-4 and 3,p.115.

ruling class which should be ritually enacted in the funeral is demonstrably lacking.[31]

The presages of ritual failure go further. Exeter dares to question the value of the obsequies openly, asking, 'We mourn in black; why mourn we not in blood?' (1.17). The usual stabilizing functions of the funeral seem inappropriate and inadequate to deal with this royal death on the battlefield. Exeter's priority is war not ritual.

Bedford, however, still clings to ritual tradition and invokes the power of the offering ceremony to settle the quarrels and restore order and stability. 'Cease, cease these jars and rest your minds in peace;/ Let's to the altar. Heralds, wait on us.' (11.44-5). The action of the offering ritual begins.

Although in placing the symbolic stress of succession on the offering ceremony, Shakespeare follows the non-royal heraldic funeral model; in making the new king absent, he follows traditional practice at royal funerals. Henry VI's minority status fitted in with ritual custom. During the funeral ceremony attention was firmly directed back towards the deceased monarch. There is no heir to fulfill the role of chief mourner and receive Henry V's achievements, they are simply offered to commemorate him.

Bedford's confidence in ritual is short-lived, however, and he

[31]William C. Carroll, '"The Form of Law": Ritual and Succession in *Richard III*', in *True Rites and Maimed Rites: Ritual and Anti-Ritual in Shakespeare and His Age*, ed. by Linda Woodbridge and Edward Berry (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992),pp.203-219 (pp.212-3).

is struck in mid-speech by the futility of the offering symbolism. He manipulates the ritual form, expanding it to express his own despair:

> Instead of gold, we'll offer up our arms -
> Since arms avail not now that Henry's dead.
> (11.47-8)

Here Bedford rejects the spiritual focus of the ritual. His concern is not with Henry V's soul but with his legacy in this world. Together with the dead King's arms, which, in accordance with contemporary tradition, the mourners lay upon the altar as he speaks, Bedford suggests that all the arms of England's nobility should be offered since they have been rendered impotent by Henry's demise. He renegotiates the terms of the ritual to suggest that the age of chivalric glory has passed with the King. We have noted that the absence of Henry VI was unremarkable but Gloucester's allusion to Henry as an 'effeminate boy' does, however, offer confirmation that the age of chivalric glory is indeed dead.

Contemporary audiences might have been reminded once more of the death of Sidney on the battlefield in the Netherlands: a death which similarly had taken on the proportions of a national disaster. Soldiers, courtiers and elegists all wondered who would take up the mantle of Protesant chivalry once Sidney was dead. More general worries about the royal succession may also have been triggered. Elizabeth was an ageing Queen and had no named heir to inherit her role as Protestant ruler, recently reaffirmed and expanded in the wake of the Armada victories.

Bedford attempts once again to restore the original focus of

the ritual by invoking the spirit of Henry V and calling upon him to 'prosper this realm' (1.53). Now, however, external forces take over the disruption of the ritual and a messenger arrives from the field of battle. His interruption marks the end of any attempt to proceed with the funeral rites. The realities of the present permanently invade the ritual moment.

The messenger brings news that confirms Bedford's pessimism: the loss of Henry V's French possessions. In the interests of maximizing the power of the scene, Shakespeare condenses scattered events from Henry VI's reign. Henry V's funeral took place on 1 Nov. 1422. The loss of the towns in Henry's French empire, reported here before Henry's burial in fact occurred over a number of years. Of the towns mentioned in 11.60-5, Rheims fell in 1429, Paris in 1436, Gisors and Rouen in 1449, and Guyenne in 1451. Kaleidoscoping these territorial losses and communicating them in the midst of the offering ceremony is highly symbolic. The arms of all England's nobility are still laid against the altar with those of the dead King. The country has been caught disarmed.

References back to the funeral ritual verbally reinforce the tableau of ritual disruption presented on the stage. The messenger rebukes the 'disputing' noblemen (1.71). Rumours of factionalism, reflected in the mourners' disputes during the funeral ritual, have played their part in the collapse of the campaign in France. He ends his speech with a vivid heraldic image:

> Cropped are the flower-de-luces in your arms:
> Of England's coat one half is cut away. (11.79-80)

The power of his metaphor could well have been visually reinforced by the presence on stage of the multiple representations of the royal arms usual at funerals (figure 98). The tabards of the heralds, the escutcheons adorning the hearse and the funeral banners would all traditionally be adorned with the royal arms.

Bedford feels the rebuke, tears off his 'wailing robes' and vows to fight for France. The robes have become 'disgraceful'. They are both unbecoming and dishonourable in one who should be at war. The funeral ceremony itself is dismissed as a mistaken rite. Far from promoting stability it has directly contributed to the loss of France. The power of ceremony has been utterly undermined.

All is not yet over, however, and a second messenger enters bringing still worse news:

> France is revolted from the English quite,
> Except some petty towns of no import;
> That Dauphin Charles is crownèd king in Rheims.
> (11.90-2)

Once again Shakespeare is manipulating historical fact for dramatic purposes. Charles VII was in fact crowned in Poitiers and not until a few weeks after Henry V's death. He was crowned again seven years later in Rheims. Meanwhile Henry VI had been crowned and offically recognized as King of France.

The moment Shakespeare chooses to have this news brought is crucial. Henry VI has not yet been proclaimed King in England (Gloucester announces at 1.169 that he is going to hasten to

the Tower to do this) let alone as King of France. The coronation of the Dauphin Charles thus catches the English off-guard. As we have seen, the proclamation of the new king would normally precede the funeral but he would not make a public appearance until after the obsequies had been completed. Shakepeare may have this in mind when he makes the interrupted funeral mirror the interrupted succession.

The closing moments of the scene underline the complete failure of ritual, confirming the divisions in the ranks of the nobility. The mourners scatter, hastening to complete tasks that are evidently conflictual. Gloucester will 'proclaim young Henry king' (1.169) but Winchester, more sinisterly, plans to take Henry into custody. The mourners exit and the audience is left with a stage empty but for the still unburied coffin of Henry V.

My analysis of royal funeral in the period 1570-1625 has illustrated how the monarchy could feel compelled to stage funeral ritual but could also manipulate the performance of a funeral to suit its particular political purposes. The state was not always in control and on occasion, in, for example, the funeral processions of Anne of Denmark and James, the vulnerability of funeral ritual was exposed. In his representation of the funeral of Henry V Shakespeare shows that he, too, understood the ways in which funeral ritual operated, the functions it was intended to fulfil and the ways it could be undermined. Elite ritual forms were the province of the playwright as much as of the Crown and nobility. Theatre simultaneously uses ritual as a source and exposes its relationship with the creation of power. In *Henry VI Part I*

uncertain political reality destroys ritual order.

STAGE IMAGES OF DEAD QUEENS: *THE REVENGER'S TRAGEDY* AND *THE SECOND MAIDEN'S TRAGEDY*

Topical Allusion and Censorship

Where in the previous section I looked at the stage representation of a funeral, my approach is now to look at how funeral ritual may have influenced dramatic texts in more subtle ways. In my discussion I assume that contemporary allusion was common in Jacobean drama. Some might raise objections to this methodological position. Malcolm Smuts, for example, has warned against searching too hard for such parallels, 'With enough ingenuity it is often possible to construe early Stuart plays as containing political allusions. But whether contemporaries would have perceived the same allusions is almost always impossible to establish'.[11] Jonson, in *Volpone* (1606), appears to corroborate Smuts's view, "Application, is now, growne a key for the decyphering of every thing: but let wise and noble persons take heed how they be too credulous, or give leave to these invading interpretors, to bee over-familiar with their fames, who cunningly, and often, utter their own virulent malice, under other mens simplest meanings" (11.62-3, 65-70). Jonson had, however, strong reason for denying the presence of topical allusions in drama: he was imprisoned in 1597 for writing an allegedly seditious play and again in 1605, together with

[11] Smuts, p.81.

George Chapman for writing a comedy which satirized James and his Scottish entourage.

Recent scholarship, particularly the work of Richard Dutton in his *Mastering the Revels: the Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama* (London: Macmillan, 1991), has established, in my view, that political topicality was a large part of Jacobean drama.[34] Dutton's basic contention is that, 'the whole system of a factional court, supported by a complex interweaving of patronage, conspired in most circumstances to 'allow' a wide range of comment on contemporary affairs, so long as this was properly licensed, suitably veiled and not slanted with offensive particularity at a powerful constituency'.[35] The power structure at the Jacobean court was neither stable nor univocal.[36] Therefore, as Middleton's *Game at Chess* (1624) illustrates, even plays that were wholly critical of royal policy could, at least temporarily, slip through the net.

Less extreme or explicit court criticism seems to have been commonplace. There was certainly a public propensity to view plays, and other texts, in terms of political allusion. James himself, as we have seen, recognized a slur on his mother in

[34]Leonard Tennenhouse, in *Power on Display: The Politics of Shakespeare's Genres* (London: Methuen, 1986), asserts that the 'the audience apparently saw no conflict in an aesthetic performance that was also a political one' and that 'political imperatives were also aesthetic imperatives [...] stagecraft collaborated with statecraft in producing spectacles of power',pp.2,10,15.

[35]Dutton,pp.178,246.

[36]Dutton,pp.141-2.

the Duessa of the *Faerie Queene*.[37] The particular significance of *Richard II* for Essex and Elizabeth is well-known.[38] Lyly's plays certainly tended to be seen in terms of topical comment. Impersonation increased towards the end of Elizabeth's reign and there were representations of the Queen herself in *Every Man Out* (1599) and *Cynthia's Revels*.[39] Once James was on the throne, Dutton argues, the artistic freedom for political writing may have increased. He compares the censorship difficulties over *Sir Thomas More* with the acceptance by the authorities of *Coriolanus*. Certainly political allusion continued to be perceived by playgoers as is clear in a letter from Samuel Calvert to Ralph Winwood of 28 March 1605: 'the play[er]s do not forbear to represent upon their stage the whole course of this present time, not sparing either King, state, or religion, in so great absurdity, and with such liberty that any would be afraid to hear them'. Similarly, three years later in a letter to the Marquis de Sillery on the subject of Chapman's controversial play, *Charles Duke of Byron* (1908), De La Broderie commented, 'A day or two before, they had slandered their King, his mine in Scotland and all his Favourites in a most pointed fashion; for having made him rail against heaven over the flight of a bird and have a gentleman beaten for calling off his dogs, they protrayed him drunk at least once a day'. Dutton concludes that topical allusion was probably the norm rather than the exception for much of the drama of the period.[41]

[37]CSPSc,I (1509-1603),723-4,747; see chapter 7,p.221.

[38]Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987),p.113.

[39]Dutton,p.62,69,127.

[41]Dutton,pp.132,142,155,182-3,190.

While I would admit that topical allusion is a dangerous critical area and interpretations must always be qualified by an awareness that direct and indisputable evidence rarely exists, I agree with Dutton that, 'the attempt to see a text as an Elizabethan [or Jacobean] saw it can surely only expand our awareness of its potential'.[41] The following discussions attempt to enrich our understanding of *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* through analysis of their topicality in relation to funeral rites and symbolism. It is important to remember, however, both the polysemic nature of theatrical signs and their transformability: they mean different things to different people at different times.[42] Indeed, it is these qualities that veil topical allusions, shielding them from the eyes of the censor.

An Introduction to *The Revenger's Tragedy*: Reciprocal Image-Fashioning

At the time of the royal tomb visit to Westminster Abbey, held during Christian IV's visit in the summer of 1606, James's tactic of associating himself with the Gloriana image of his predecessor had worn rather thin. Many had become disillusioned with this foreign King who, it was said, put hunting before government duties, squandered hardly-won revenue on masques and revels at court and sold off titles to all and sundry. Complaints about increases in taxation were

[41]Dutton,p.14.

[42]Elam,p.11,16,32.

already rife when, also in 1606, ministers began to press Parliament hard for an increased subsidy to relieve the strain on Treasury finances.[1]

The Denmark visit itself provided ammunition for an attack upon James. The disgruntled courtier, John Harington paints a particularly lurid picture of the court festivities held on that occasion where, in a masque performed before the two Kings, the allegorical figures of Faith, Hope and Charity were not merely drunk but 'sick and spewing'.

> I ne'er did see such lack of good order, discretion and sobriety, as I have now done [...] The gunpowder fright is out of all of our heads, and we are going on, hereabouts, as if the devil was contriving every man should blow himself up, by wild riot, devastation of time and temperance. The great ladies do go well-masked, and, indeed, it be only the show of their modesty, to conceal their countenance to uphold their strange doings, that I marvel not at aught that happens.[2]

His account is notorious but can perhaps be seen as only an exaggerated version of a more widely-held opinion of court corruption under James. Harington contrasts the disordered Jacobean court with the order and serenity of Elizabeth's. Looking back to this period, Goodman was to write:

> After a few years, when we had experience of the Scottish government, then - in disparagement of the Scots and in the detestation of them - the queen did seem to revive. Then was her memory much magnified - such commemoration of her, the picture of her tomb painted in many churches; and, in effect, more solemnity and joy in memory of her coronation than

[1] Lockyer, pp.71, 82-3.

[2] Thomas Park, ed., *Nugae Antiquae: being a miscellaneous collection of original papers [...] by Sir John Harington and others*, 2 vols ([London (?)]: [n. pub.], 1804), I, 348-53; Chambers (1923), I, 172; Parry (1981), p.59, 69; Willson, pp.193-4. On Harington's interview with James, see ibid., p.288.

was for the coming in of King James.[45]

James did not have a monopoly on the appropriation of the funeral images of Elizabeth. The erection of Elizabeth's tomb in Westminster was part of a reciprocal process of image-fashioning in which subjects as well as ruler could indulge. Pictures of Elizabeth's tomb were set up in many churches and thirty-two parish churches in London erected adulatory memorials:

> Chaste Patroness of true Religion,
> In Court a Saint, in Field an Amazon
> Glorious in life, deplored in death,
> Such was unparallel'd ELIZABETH.[46]

The iconographic revival was part of a wider reclamation and manipulation of Elizabeth's political image, in which, often, adulation of Elizabeth equated with criticism of James.[47] The Protestant pro-war faction at court held up Elizabeth as the ideal monarch who had practised austerity, put religion first and followed an active Protestant foreign policy', all of which contrasted with the extravagance and perceived pro-Spanish policies of James.[48] There was a strong affinity between this early seventeenth century image of Elizabeth and the Elizabeth of the late 1580s, a Queen at the height of her

[45]Dr Godfrey Goodman, *The Court of King James The First* ed. by John S. Brewer, 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1839),I,97-8. See also Thomas Fuller, *The Church History of Britain: from the Birth of Jesus Christ untill the year 1648* ed. by J. S. Brewer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1845),X,4.

[46]Copies of Elizabeth's epitaph were found in Suffolk churches, see Robert Reyce, *The Breviary of Suffolke, 1618*, ed. by Lord Francis Hervey (London, 1912),pp.203-4, cited by Llewellyn, *Royal Body* (1990),p.129. See also Stow (1633),p.823; Smuts,p.29.

[47]See chapter 7,pp.219-20.

[48]Haigh (1988),pp.167-9; Smuts,p.29.

popularity in the reflected glory of the Armada victory. She was once again Gloriana, the empress of imperial reform, celebrated by Spenser. The disparity between this image and the historical Elizabeth, particularly of the last years of her reign, was not important. Elizabeth-Gloriana was re-fashioned as a foil to the Stuart King. The political integrity of the Virgin Queen was a mirror-image of the corrupt King whose behaviour and policies were equally flawed.[50] As Christopher Haigh has put it, Elizabeth 'was dressed up in clothes she would hardly have recognized, to pose as a model for her successor'.[51]

Stage Images of Elizabeth: *The Revenger's Tragedy* Act V Scene iii

The world conceived in *The Revenger's Tragedy*, performed at the Globe Theatre by the King's Men in the season of 1606-7, has close affinities with the world of John Harington's letter.[52] In the play, court revels are an opportunity for

[50]King (1990),p.67.

[51]Haigh (1988),p.167. On nostalgia for Elizabeth's reign in Caroline plays, particularly William Cavendish's *The Variety* (1641), see Anne Barton, *Ben Jonson, Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984),pp.301-17.

[52]Precision is impossible in dating *The Revenger's Tragedy* but it would seem that the play was conceived and staged between 1605 and October 7 1607 when it was entered in the Stationer's Register. Foakes feels it was probably written between 1605-6. See his edition of the play (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966),p.lxix. Lawrence J. Ross opts for a slightly later period between the spring of 1606 and its registration date in 1607. See his edition of the play, *The Revenger's Tragedy* ([London (?)]: Edward Arnold, 1966),p.xii. Ross's dates would fit well with the topical allusions drawn out in my analysis of the play. All line

licentious behaviour, for rape. Other allusions firmly establish the play's topical resonance which has now been generally accepted by critics.[11] Patrimonies are 'washed a-pieces'; 'fruitfields turned into bastards'; estates sold to meet the fantastic price of court dress:

> Lands that were mete by the rod, that labour's spared,
> Tailors ride down, and measure 'em by the yard;
> Fair trees, those comely foretops of the fields,
> Are cut to maintain head-tires....
> (II.i.223-6)

My concern, however, is with another topical reference that has been overlooked in critical interpretations of the play: the name of Vindice's long-dead 'betrothèd lady'. Audience acquaintance with this lady begins in the opening scene, where Vindice meditates, Hamlet-fashion, upon his 'studies' ornament', her skull while the Duke and his entourage cross the stage in a torchlit procession. She was murdered nine years before by the old Duke because she would not consent to become his mistress. The revenge motive is given but the lady's name is, I would argue, quite deliberately withheld.

The dramatist chooses the climactic moment of the primary revenge plot, as the Duke is fatally poisoned by kissing the lips of the skull, for Vindice to disclose the name of the long-dead mistress of his affections.

> Duke, dost know
> Yon dreadful vizard? View it well; 'tis the skull
> Of *Gloriana*, whom thou poisoned'st last.
> (III.v.146-8)

citations refer to the Ross edition.

[11] J. W. Lever, *The Tragedy of State: A Study of Jacobean Drama* (New York: Methuen, 1971),pp.29-31. For an alternative view see Foakes (1966),p.41.

The name is only mentioned once contributing to its easy dismissal by critics as a casual, glancing reference to Queen Elizabeth. Nomenclature, however, is loaded with morality-play style significance in this play. Further the moment of disclosure has tremendous visual impact and is packed full of ironic suggestion.

The sheer length of the scene alerts us to its significance. The audience watches Vindice stage-manage the build up to the 'crowded minute' of revenge. We see him re-fashion the skull into a 'country lady', dressing it in a mask and tires in the 'unsunned lodge' that he has chosen as the location for the scene (III.v.18).

In the soliloquy prompted by the dressing of the skull, Vindice draws attention to its dual function. On one level it is the emblematic reminder, so frequently employed in English Renaissance iconography, of the vanity of the flesh. 'Does', Vindice asks of the skull, 'the silkworm expend her yellow labours/ For thee? for thee does she undo herself?' (III.v.71-2). Yet, Vindice has fashioned more than a *momento mori*. This skull is no 'useless property' but will enact a *Dance of Death* with the Duke and function as very instrument of Vindice's revenge:

> This very skull,
> Whose mistress the duke poisoned, with this drug,
> The mortal curse of the earth, shall be reveng'd
> In the like strain, and kiss his lips to death.
> (III.v.101-4)

By giving advance knowledge of the form of Vindice's revenge and the practical and symbolic functions of the skull, at least in terms of the play's internal structure, the dramatist

frees his audience from over-concentration on plot, making it more receptive to other layers of meaning.

Further, Vindice prolongs the moment of revenge, unmasking the skull and displaying it to the duke. Stage directions given by Vindice indicate his determination to maximize the Duke's horror. 'Brother' he says, addressing Hippolito, 'Place the torch here, that his affrighted eyeballs/ May start into those hollows.' The careful staging underlines the significance of the moment for the audience, too.

Disclosure of the skull's identity is necessary to facilitate the completeness of revenge. The duke must know why he is dying. It is typical of Vindice, too, who delights in the ironies of plot, to insist that his victim appreciate the aptness of the revenge. All of this would be so, however, irrespective of the particular appellation given to Vindice's love. The naming of Gloriana, withheld until the final line of the speech, explodes, charging the scene with sudden and pointed contemporary allusion.

That the courtiers and other educated members of the Globe audience associated the name Gloriana with their dead Queen Elizabeth is hard to doubt. Spenser's *Faerie Queene* had been fully published by 1596 and had enjoyed considerable popularity and influence. The identification of Elizabeth with Gloriana had received at least one explicit airing on the stage prior to 1607. Dekker's play *Old Fortunatus*, performed by the Admiral's Men at the Rose in 1599, was introduced by the following exchange between two old men:

1. Are you then travelling to the temple of Eliza?
2. Even to her temple are my feeble limmes travelling. Some cal her Pandora, some Gloriana, some Cynthia: some Belphoebe, some Astraea: all by severall names to express severall loves: Yet all those names make but one celestiall body, as all those loves meete to create but one soule.

This prologue was admittedly only used for the court performance of the play but indicates that there at least the Gloriana/Elizabeth association was well-known. Those in the Globe audience unaware of the literary association may have been receptive to the form of the name itself: '*Glory-ana*', or 'glorious-one' and still have sensed the allusion to their dead Queen, the glorious Elizabeth, particularly if, as is quite feasible, visual clues were given in the staging.[13]

Vindice had dressed up his Gloriana's skull much as the funeral effigy of Elizabeth-Gloriana had been re-adorned for the visit of King Christian IV of Denmark on 4 August 1606, just a few months before the performance of *The Revenger's Tragedy*. The same year the painted and gilded image of Elizabeth atop her funeral monument had been unveiled in Westminster Abbey. Thus a double set of images of the dead Queen was on display in the City. Elizabeth as triumphant Queen was once more in the minds of Londoners at the time of the first performances of *The Revenger's Tragedy*.[14]

Thomas Platter, a continental traveller who visited the Henry VII Chapel in 1599, testifies to the way in which the royal

[13]A modern director exploited such visual clues in a 1993 production of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* at the Battersea Arts Centre, London, which featured a life-size image of the *Coronation* portrait of Elizabeth with a cut-out face, in the manner of the seaside amusements.

[14]Chapter 7,pp.214-20.

monuments there had already become a tourist attraction. On visiting Westminter Abbey he described the Henry VII chapel where he 'witnessed some most magnificent and stately tombs of the kings and queens of England, finer than ever I beheld'.[55] Public awareness of the tombs, just a few years after the performance of *The Revenger's Tragedy*, is demonstrated in Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (1613, Lady Elizabeth's Swan). When Tim lacks a weapon (to 'watch' his sister), he says:

> Take you no care for that, if need be I can send for conquering metal [...] 'tis but at Westminster: I am acquainted with him that keeps the monuments, I can borrow Harry the fifth's sword... (IV.iii.57-62)[56]

Tim's reference implies audience familiarity with the monuments and with the system of visiting them. The Keeper acted as a guide for the cost of one penny, the same price of entrance to the public playhouse.[57] By 1606 at the latest, the funeral effigies were also on display.[58] In the 1630s Weever was to remark, 'What concourse of people come daily, to view the lively Statues and stately Monuments in Westminster Abbey wherein the sacred ashes of so many of the Lords anointed, beside other great Potentates are entombed'.[59]

Vindice's Gloriana may have been broadly satirical of Jacobean

[55]Platter,p.178.

[56]David L. Frost surmises that Tim really means the sword of Edward III as Henry V's had been stolen. See the note to the text in his *The Selected Plays of Thomas Middleton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

[57]Platter,pp.166-7; Gurr (1992),p.215.

[58]Chapter 7,pp.215-6.

[59]Weever,p.41.

recuperation of Elizabeth's image and, perhaps, a deliberate visual pun on James's use of Elizabeth's tomb and refurbished funeral effigies, exemplified by the royal visit to Westminster Abbey in 1606. Thus, the dramatist subverted the official propaganda of the images of the dead Queen, turning them into a weapon with which to attack James."

It is not clear from the play-text whether the Vindice's Gloriana is being supported up-right or is lying down at the time of the Duke's fatal kiss. Vindice has handed her over to Hippolito whom he instructs to 'fall back [...] a little/ With the bony lady'. Although the Duke orders her to be 'conducted' to him (1.136), there is no clear indication that Hippolito brings the dressed up skull forward. Indeed the Duke has already been warned that this lady may be 'a little bashful at first' (1.132) and has been encouraged to make the first move. Vindice's instructions indicate that Hippolito is occupied otherwise to a point which may preclude supporting the skull. He says: 'Back with the torch, brother; raise the perfumes'. Hippolito may have placed her down in the curtained discovery space at the back of the Globe stage, or possibly on stage within a moveable curtained booth." If the

"Neill has similarly suggested that the lovers on their bed of death, at the end of *Romeo and Juliet*, begin to resemble the monumental figures of tomb sculpture, see Neill (1981),p.73 and (1985),p.181. Glynne Wickham has argued that Hermione's statue in *The Winter's Tale* alludes to the monument of Mary Queen of Scots, see Wickham (1973),pp.95-7. Wickham argues that Shakespeare and the King's Men must have been aware of the the tomb project going on in the Cure workshop in nearby Southwark. The Duchess deliberately evokes the image of her tomb effigy in John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* I.i.453-5: 'This is flesh and blood, sir/ 'Tis not the figure cut in alabaster/ Kneels at my husband's tomb'.

"In this case the tableau may have played on the traditional symbolic association between parting curtains and resurrection. See George R. Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre:*

dressed up skull was indeed independently supported, perhaps on a raised couch, to facilitate the Duke's imminent conquest, the resultant tableau may well have triggered visual memories of Elizabeth's recumbent funeral and tomb effigies in the minds of the audience.

At the moment of revenge, then, for some in the audience at least, the skull in its flowing tires momentarily became Gloriana, Elizabeth, and the Duke, profligate ruler of a corrupt court, became James, her successor, poisoned in the act of her violation. The tableau offered a visual analogue of the way in which James's cultivation of the Gloriana image could backfire.

Once the association has been made, the ironies multiply. Spenser's Gloriana is explicitly characterized as a majestic and beneficent Virgin Queen and also as a seemingly divine being whose resplendent beauty inspires passionate devotion and heroic virtue. Vindice's Gloriana inspires obsession and revenge. Gloriana, the reward of the pursuit of virtue by the Spenserian knights, becomes the punishment for the pursuit of sin. Elizabeth's image of Virgin-queen ultimately left her impotent and she died without an heir. Vindice's Gloriana is explicitly identified with chastity but her virtue rendered her impotent and resulted in her death. The posthumous functions of both Glorianas mirror one another: Vindice's mistress is used to attack the Duke of the play as the revived image of Elizabeth is used to attack the James of the Jacobean court. In dressing up her skull Vindice transforms his chaste

Form and Convention in the Renaissance (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944),pp.53-8,151; Mercer,pp.246,251.

fiancee into a 'bony' harlot. The dramatist may be suggesting that the posthumous manipulation of Elizabeth taints her true memory. Such are the thoughts that might have been triggered by the naming of Gloriana in this scene.

James's exploitation of the tomb and funeral effigies of Elizabeth intended, as it was, to bolster his political image, was vulnerable to appropriation and subversion by others. *The Revenger's Tragedy* represents a clear example of the reciprocality of image-fashioning: the relationship between power and ceremonial was not one-way.

This analysis of the Gloriana scene in *The Revenger's Tragedy* is offered as an interpretation of a momentary tableau, striking and fraught with political allusion it may be, but a key to the whole text it is not. There is no suggestion that Gloriana 'is' Elizabeth in the text as a whole or that the Duke must always and only be identified as James. This would be to greatly exaggerate the significance of this theatrical moment in relation to the rest of the play. Yet the Gloriana scene remains an important and striking moment when the distanced political comment of the play becomes vivid, immediate and explicit.

Confused Rites: *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, Funeral Ritual and Idolatry

The Second Maiden's Tragedy also plays on the posthumous use of the images of Elizabeth and Mary Stuart but does so in the context of a much broader questioning of the status of funeral rites, and indeed of all religious rites. Further, the play probes the problematic issues raised by the dramatic representation of such rites.

The composition period of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* has been narrowed down to between the end of May 1610 and 31 October 1611, the date of the licence on the MS prompt book.[i]

Contemporary parallels have been noted between the Tyrant's imprisonment of the Lady and Giovanus and James's imprisonment, in 1610-11, of Arabella Stuart and her husband William Seymour.[ii] However, the main area of topical allusion in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, which was performed at Blackfriars by the King's Men in the winter of 1611-12, is religious controversy. The sensitivity of the issue is underlined by the passages marked for censorship by the Master of the Revels, Sir George Buc.[iii]

[i] Anne Lancashire, ed., *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978),pp.14-5. All line citations refer to this edition of the play.

[ii] Lancashire, Appendix A.5,p.279.

[iii] Lines cut refer to purgatory (II.i.156-61); idolatry and the use of Latin for worship (V.ii.20-3); and sainthood (V.ii.56). See Lancashire,pp.43-4,280. In his discussion of *Hamlet*, Holleran notes the references to 'purgatory' and 'requiem masses' complicate the play's use of funeral rites but takes the discussion no further,p.68 n.6.

The idolatrous behaviour of the Tyrant glances at James's apparent toleration of Roman Catholicism at court. Although James's own religious position was securely Protestant at this time, various signals may have prompted some, particularly left-wing Puritans, to see him as leaning towards Catholicism. James extended favour to Catholics at court including Henry Howard, the Earl of Northampton. Henry's behaviour in acting as pander to his niece, Frances Howard, may well be alluded to in the conduct of Helvetius.[10] Reference in the play to the French King Henry IV, who had converted to Catholicism to secure his kingdom, may have been a direct jibe at James's perceived Catholic waverings, (V.ii.140).[11] Henry's very recent assassination, on 27 May 1610, had captured the attention of the English and such allusions were highly topical. The play seems to refer to other aspects of James's recent behaviour which were probably perceived as 'Catholic' in some quarters and are particularly intriguing in the light of this thesis.

The context of the Tyrant's idolatrous behaviour: veneration of the dead body of the Lady which he orders to be painted and adorned to satisfy his lust, may have had a particular resonance for an audience familiar with the effigies, painted and gilded by Hilliard and Critz, on the tombs that James had

[10]Lancashire,pp.36,44, Appendix A,5 and *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* (II.i.154-65;II.iii.41-5; IV.ii.19-24). Dutton comments that Buc's sensitivity to lines depicting sexual depravity in this play, where he ignored them in *The White Devil*, *Women Beware Women* and *The Revenger's Tragedy*, may be due to the fact that he owed his position to the patronage of the Howards,pp.198,201.

[11]Lancashire,pp.14,43 and n.111. See also the censor's correction at V.ii.167 which changed 'your kinges poisoned' to 'I am poisoned', ibid.,p.272.

recently erected at Westminster Abbey to commemorate his mother and his predecessor. In the play the Lady's tomb itself features as an on-stage structure in IV.iii where it is 'discovered, richly set forth', perhaps by the removal of a curtain from a central doorway at the Blackfriars theatre.[10] The Tyrant's declaration, 'the monument woos me; I must run and kiss it' (1.9) and his reference to the 'grey-eyed monument' (1.23) suggest that the stage tomb may have imitated the monuments which had full-length carved effiges, like those of Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stuart. Such an elaborate stage prop may well have been constructed at Blackfriars. Even the outdoor playhouses could manage tombs as the 1598 inventory of Rose playhouse props in Henslowe's *Diary* makes clear. It includes three tombs, including that of Dido.[11] Alternatively, the effigy-tomb effect could have been achieved more simply. Two actors would be required to play the Lady's body and spirit respectively later, and it is conceivable that one could have 'played' the tomb effigy here.

The behaviour of the Tyrant at the tomb is pointedly Catholic: 'By th' mass' he exclaims on feeling the coldness of the Lady's body in the tomb (IV.iii.92). There are also marked parallels between the action of the play and the Elizabethan *Homily against peril of idolatry*, the longest of the thirty-three homilies and an important weapon in Protestant attacks on Catholicism in Jacobean England.

> Cursed be he that maketh a carued image, or a cast

[10] Gurr (1992),p.160.

[11] Foakes (1961),p.319. The tomb effigy could have been a waxwork figure of the type used in *The Duchess of Malfi* (1614) IV.i.36. See Bergeron (1978),pp.332,335-6.

> or moulten image, which is abomination before the Lord, the worke of the artificers hande, and setteth it up in a secret corner.[11]

After the Tyrant has caused the Lady's body to be exhumed and taken to court, he has it decked 'in all the glorious riches of our palace' (V.ii.8-9) and set up in a chair that he might do homage to her. He then signals to his soldiers to do obeisance to her. One expresses discomfort and mutters aside:

> By this hand, mere idolatry. I make curtsy
> To my damnation. I have learned so much,
> Though I could never know the meaning yet
> Of all my Latin prayers, nor ne'er sought for't.
> (V.ii.20-23)

Coupled with idolatry is the Catholic use of Latin in worship, also often the focus of criticism, as is made clear by 'An Homily wherein is declared that Common Prayer and Sacraments, ought to be ministered in a tongue that is understood of the hearers'.[11]

Parallels may have been intended between the Tyrant's veneration of the Lady's corpse and the Catholic rites of *Adoratio crucis*, *Depositio crucis*, *Elevatio crucis* and *Quem quaeritis*, described in chapter 5: rites which were outlawed by the Protestant church.[11] Further, the play exaggerates the growing tendency towards the eroticizing of death that was noted in chapter 7.[11]

[11]'An Homily Against Peril of Idolatry and superfluous Decking of Churches', in *Sermons or Homilies*,p.162.

[11]*Sermons or Homilies*,pp.325-338.

[11]Lancashire,pp.28,44; Neill (1981),p.81. See also above chapter 5,pp.182-3.

[11]Chapter 7,pp.234-5.

The Tyrant's idolatry is set against the true religion of Govianus, the rightful king deposed before the play begins. John Florio's *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (1611) gives *Giové* (Italian) as signifying 'the eldest begotten sonne of any Saturne, Iove or Iupiter', thereby identifying Govianus as rightful, divinely ordained heir to the throne. The staunch Protestantism of Prince Henry and his court, seen by many as a foil to the King's household, may well have prompted some to see something of Prince Henry in Govianus. The opposition of the physical obsessions of the Tyrant (and Votarius in the sub-plot) and Govianus's concern with the mind and spirit again may have inspired comparisons between the courts of Stuart King and Stuart heir. Prince Henry was identified by some as the true heir of Elizabethan Protestantism temporarily 'deposed' by King James, as Govianus had been deposed by the Tyrant at the beginning of the play.[73] For his part, Govianus certainly voices a great deal of criticism of the Tyrant's court (I.i.77-8; II.iii.41-5; 59-79; 80-96). Some of these passages and others with a similar drift towards contemporary criticism of the court, were cut by the censor, George Buc, suggesting that he at least was aware of glancing references to James and Prince Henry.[74]

I am not trying to suggest any explicit and consistent identifications between characters in the play and historical figures, but simply arguing that periodically the play text is

[73]Strong characterizes Prince Henry as taking up `the mantles of two late Elizabethan heroes, Sir Philip Sidney and Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex [as] the epitome of militant Protestant chivalry', Strong (1986),p.14. See chapter 8,pp.259-60.

[74]Lancashire,pp.275-80.

highly fraught with sharply focused political meaning. The religious allegory of the play has its own internal coherence focused around the Lady who functions as the representative of the true Church, honoured with true reverence by Govianus and worshipped idolatrously by the Tyrant. The role of Helvetius, father to the Lady, whose name identifies him with the home of Calvinism, underlines the religious allegory. Ambition causes him temporarily to serve the interests of the Tyrant but he is brought back to truth: 'the gentlewoman I now serve,/ and never will forsake her for her plainness' (II.iii.91-2).

Helvetius's emphasis on the Lady's freedom from ornament underscores the central theme of idolatry that distinguishes true and false churches. This theme is developed after the Tyrant has raided the Lady's tomb. At this juncture the character of the Lady separates into two: a division which permits a sophistication of the play's religious allegory. Her spirit remains the true Church, the Una of Spenser's *Fairie Queene*, while her body, which the Tyrant will have painted to resemble life, equates with 'Duessa', the false painted whore, the Church of Rome. To the familiar opposition between the 'paynted visage' of Catholicism and the 'true naturall beautie' of Protestantism, the dramatist seems to add another layer of symbolism through the medium of carefully specified costume.[11] The white, jewelled dress of the Lady's spirit who appears to Govianus at the tomb (IV.iv.43) recalls Elizabeth in the Ditchley and 'Coronation' portraits (figures 52 and 99). While the black velvet dress of the Lady's body, with the chain of pearls across her breast and a crucifix

[11] *Sermons and Homilies*, pp.195-274. See also Lancashire, p.43 on the true and false church dichotomy.

99. The *Ditchley* portrait of Elizabeth I, painted by Marcus Gheeraerts, c.1592.

(V.ii.13), triggers associations with iconographic representations of Catholic noblewomen, particularly Mary Stuart in, for example, the anonymous *Mary Queen of Scots*, a portrait painted posthumously which now hangs in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery (figures 100 and 101).[76] Such iconographic symbolism would not have been lost on the courtier element of a Blackfriars audience and may have been more widely understood. On Elizabeth's death, according to the Venetian ambassador, images of the Queen were hidden everywhere and replaced with portraits of Mary Stuart.[77]

While there is never the explicit identification between Elizabeth and the Lady in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* that occurred in the Gloriana scene of *The Revenger's Tragedy*, she is strongly identified with chastity (V.ii.209) and in this way may draw on the same virgin symbolism that surrounded the revived Gloriana/Elizabeth image.

The religious allegory of the *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* is not, however, as unambiguous as I have so far suggested. The spirit of the Lady, for example, bears a great crucifix on her breast at a time when such representations of the cross were outlawed by Calvinism (IV.iv.43). On her appearance in the final scene, she is dressed in black velvet like her body-idol, blurring the distinction between herself and her body (V.ii.153).

[76]On general associations of the visual detail, see Lancashire,p.52. Towards the end of her reign Elizabeth habitually wore white. See Pomeroy,pp.57-8.

[77]See CSPV,X (1603-7),10. Compare this to the `delouisification' that occurred after the death of Louis IV, Burke (1992),p.122.

100. *Mary Queen of Scots* by an unknown artist, Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

101. Drawing after the same.

Intriguingly, much of the play's religious ambiguity is focused on the theme of funeral rites. The Tyrant is an iconoclast as well as an idolator, recovering the Lady's body through an act of tomb-breaking worthy of the most zealous Edwardian reformer. Most of the confused religious behaviour comes, however, from the play's 'Protestants'. Remarks which could be construed as referring to purgatory come from the lips of the repentant Helvetius, the representative of Protestantism (II.i.156-61). Govianus makes an allusion to rosary beads (IV.iv.11-12) and approaches to honour his Lady's tomb with a page bearing a torch (IV.iv.o.1-2). While the use of torches in funeral processions was soon to become fashionable, they were still regarded as popish by Puritans.[70] Moreover, the whole concept of spirits of the dead walking with the living was denied by Protestantism. The posthumous coronation of the Lady (V.ii.200), with its connotations of sainthood and martyrdom which inevitably echo the Catholic cult of 'Our Lady', is enacted by Govianus, worshipper of the true Church.[71] In a play which has condemned the idolatry of the Tyrant such a climax strikes an odd note. The distinction between true Church and false church is not sustained.

Some have argued that the play sets true burial rites against idolatrous ones. Govianus's task is to recover the body of the Lady (IV.iv.89-90); to put right the wrongs perpetrated by the Tyrant 'robber of monuments' (V.ii.128) and to rebury her in the 'house of peace' (V.ii.204). Further, it has been suggested, approval of Govianus's burial rites is signalled by

[70]Lancashire n.254. See chapter 7,pp.230-5.

[71]Lancashire,p.29. For general parallels between the role of the Lady and saints' lives, see ibid.,pp.25-6.

the presence of the Lady's spirit, absent at the Tyrant's idolatrous rites. Allegorical inconsistencies have been explained by the need to blur any contemporary political allusions."[11] In view of the above analysis, such an interpretation seems inadequate. Rather than suggesting, however, that the dramatist has failed to sustain the religious allegory of the play, I would argue that he is deliberately creating a milieu of confused religious behaviour which reflects the confusion of official religious policy."[11]

Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign Thomas Platter had already been struck by the similarity between Catholic and emergent Anglican worship. By 1611 official state approval of church ceremonial was clear and, while the drift towards Arminianism had not yet begun, tolerance of Catholics had disillusioned left-wing Protestants. As we have seen, funeral ritual, which had never shed its Catholic elements entirely, was flourishing under the new cultural climate. Bell-ringing, torch-lit processions and elaborate effigy-tombs were gaining in popularity. All had been, or were soon to be, endorsed by official royal funeral rites but how near to popish 'idolatry' they must have seemed to many. The dramatist seems to express a general worry about the implications of indulging in these

[11]Lancashire,p.43.

[11]Dutton comments on the 'almost too plentiful' topical readings of the play but argues that in presenting such a fluid allegory, the dramatist is doing no more than Spenser asks us to do in the *Faerie Queene* where Duessa represents Mary Queen of Scots, the Roman Catholic church and the Scarlet woman of Babylon, p.204. He also points out that in Middleton's *Game at Chess* (1624) that, 'The audience was apparently expected to be able to make sense of composite or multi-faceted illusions which may have no literal or one-to-one relation to persons or events, but imaginatively merge disparate materials',p.242.

'catholic' burial rituals. There is a certain discomfort with 'unlocking the treasure house of art' for any funeral rite (IV.iii.121) and perhaps in particular with the 'hand of art that may dissemble life' upon the face of a tomb or funeral effigy (IV.iv.74-5). The play probes the process of sublimation, investigating the effect on the observer of beholding a fashioned image. The painted lips of the Lady's body are the poisonous lips that reward idolatrous sin with death.

That the anxiety over funeral rites in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* reflected a general public concern is comically illustrated by the following incident reported by Chamberlain. In April 1616, following the funeral of Sir John Grimes, 'in apish imitation [...] certain rude knaves therabout buried a dogge with great solemnitie in Tothill field by night with goode store of linckes'.[11] Investigations revealed that this was not in derogation of the Scots since some of that nationality were ringleaders in the proceedings. Perhaps, then, the target of the satirists was the form of this 'nocturnal' funeral.

The dramatist seems to anticipate the confused religious milieu of court at the end of James's reign, a confusion that, as we have seen, would be reflected in James's funeral.[11] For the left-wing Puritan, the effigy-centred lying-in-state ritual would not be so far from the Tyrant's adoration of the Lady's exhumed and painted body.

[11]McClure,I,623.

[11]Chapters 6,pp.203-213; 10,p.319.

More imminent was the second funeral of Mary Queen of Scots which would take place less than a year after the performance of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*. It was to confirm and magnify the confusing religious signals that were emanating from James's court. The funeral procession was a nocturnal event staged with an abundance of torchlight. The earliest reference we have to James's plan to transfer his mother's body comes in his letter to the Dean of Peterborough Cathedral of September 1612. The Westminster Abbey tomb had, however, long been under construction, and it is not inconceivable that the exhumation and reburial of Mary Stuart had been proposed and become public knowledge well before the writing of the play. We are moving into the realms of conjecture but it is interesting to consider the implications for an interpretation of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* if the project had been known at the time of its conception. The only textual allusion which points towards the Mary Stuart scheme is the cathedral setting of the Lady's tomb (IV.iii) - Mary of course had been buried at Peterborough Cathedral although she had no tomb there. The play could, however, have been a direct comment on the potentially idolatrous implications of the transference of Mary's body. Certainly the posthumous coronation of the Lady (V.ii.200), with its connotations of sainthood, would come to have a new resonance under such circumstances, with the dramatist perhaps predicting Mary's translation into a Catholic martyr.

Such worries about the status of funeral rituals suggest a Puritan bias on the part of the playwright. The authorship of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* has not been established. Scholars tend to agree, however, that it was probably the

product of the same dramatist as *The Revenger's Tragedy*. There are strong parallels between the two plays, not least the fatal kiss scenes, that support this view."[10] Some critics have suggested that the most likely candidate for both plays is Thomas Middleton although the Middleton scholar, Margot Heinemann, rejects the attribution of *The Revenger's Tragedy* to the Middleton canon."[11] Whether he was responsible for either or both plays, Middleton's career usefully demonstrates that Puritan sympathies were not incompatible with play-writing.

The author of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, in particular, appears to be the work of a mind sensitive to the implications of ritual behaviour. For the dramatist, beyond the specific issue of what constitutes appropriate funeral rites, there lies the larger questions of the relationship between religious ceremony and drama and of the status of representational art."[12] It is easy from a twentieth century perspective to think of the theatre as a secular phenomenon and forget that modern drama has its roots in medieval church rituals. Representation of funeral rituals, as I have demonstrated, provided an unbroken link with Catholic

[10]On further parallels between these two plays, see Lancashire,p.27. The poisoned kiss motif also appears in Munday's *The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntingdon* and Munday and Chettle's *Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon* (both 1598), ibid.,p.26.

[11]Margot Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theatre: Thomas Middleton and Opposition Drama under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), Appendix B. For the Middleton attribution, see J. R. Mulryne, *Thomas Middleton* (Harlow: Longman, 1979),pp.23-4.

[12]On the dramatist's self-conscious examination of his art within his art, see David M. Bergeron, 'Art within *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 1 (1984),pp.173-186.

religious rites. Certainly the rhetoric of the anti-theatre group in the Elizabethan and Jacobean era was religious. Reformist opposition to medieval Mystery cycles was based on the need to expunge visual representations of God. During Elizabeth's reign, figures such as Gosson and Northbrooke expanded such notions to encompass a rejection of all theatre. Again idolatry was the key and theatre was idolatrous simply because it presented things for the eye.[11] Such a view is extreme but reflected a more general deep anxiety about the visual representation and ritual which, as Louis Montrose has pointed out, was expressed in phrases like 'painted shows' and 'colors of rhetoric', phrases which demonstrated a prejorative or at best, ambivalent sense of the visual.[11]

The Second Maiden's Tragedy illustrates that the interest in both the content and the theatrical potential of medieval religious ritual remained strong well into James's reign. The influence of these rituals can be seen in, for example, the warped Holy Communion at the burial feast of Ophelia in the final scene of *Hamlet*. Funeral rituals are perhaps particularly problematic because of the continuity in their ritual form during the late sixteenth century which facilitated the revival of 'Catholic' elements in the early seventeenth century. The inevitably widespread practice of the funeral ritual gave it a high profile in the Jacobean debate on religious ceremonial. Drama could contribute to that debate through a play like *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*

[11]O'Connell,pp.282,307.

[11]Louis Montrose, 'The Purpose of Playing: Reflections on Shakespeare's Anthropology', *Helios* n.s. 7 (1980), 51-74, cited by O'Connell,p.299.

but its very form condemned it in the eyes of anti-theatre Puritans as part of the problem they wished to eradicate. As Hermione's statue is vivified in *The Winter's Tale*, with full audience and dramatist complicity, Perdita pleads, 'do not say 'tis superstition'.[11] The central paradox is that although 'Catholic' rites are idolatrous, they are also the very stuff of theatre. Like the royal theatre of death which provided it with forms and motifs, stage drama occupied a liminal area in which the lines marking out idolatrous behaviour were deliberately blurred. The boundary between attending a play that is about ritual and participating in ritual is hard to place. In watching a play which dramatizes idolatry, or indeed in watching any play, is one colluding in an act of idolatry? For many, theatre and ritual both occupy a liminal area in which such judgements are inappropriate. For a few Puritans theatrical representation was an act of idolatry and the logical conclusion was to enforce closure of the theatres and ban dramatic representations altogether.[11]

The containment/subversion debate goes on: for many a visit to the theatre is a cathartic ritual experience safely contained within prescribed rules of social behaviour. For others, theatre should disturb, question and unsettle.

[11]O'Connell,p.304; Holleran,pp.87-93.

[11]Not all Puritans were opposed to the theatre. See Heinemann,pp.18-47,235-6.

CONCLUSION

Overall, my thesis represents an attempt to provide a fuller understanding of a neglected aspect of cultural life in Elizabethan and Jacobean England. In several ways royal funeral rituals played a significant role in cultural and political life, particularly in London. Firstly, the funerals themselves were magnificent occasions, directly experienced by large numbers of people, both as participants and spectators. On occasion the ritual forms employed in royal obsequies, although they were derived from surviving popular forms, set precedents that would be emulated in elite funerals lower down the social scale, thereby broadening the sphere of their influence. Use of lighted torches at the second funeral of Mary Queen of Scots (1612), for example, may well have influenced the growing popularity of nocturnal funerals. In addition, the display of royal funeral and tomb effigies at Westminster Abbey became a significant tourist attraction and an instrument of royal propaganda. Finally, contemporary audiences brought their experience of funeral ritual and of visits to the Westminster effigies to the early modern playhouse and that experience was exploited by dramatists. When assessing that audience experience, it is important to remember that royal funerals followed broadly the same pattern as non-royal heraldic funerals, the main differences being in the effigy ritual and the offering ceremony. Heraldic funerals were widely practised and the processions, at least, would have been a familiar sight to the average London citizen. If the impact of stage representations of funeral ritual and funeral symbolism on original audiences is to be understood, the contemporary experience of funerals must be

probed as fully as possible. This thesis goes some way towards meeting this need.

The critical essays included in the Epilogue begin to demonstrate the potential of my thesis for the re-interpretation of the stage representation of funeral ritual and funeral symbolism in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. Limits on space have meant that only three plays have been looked at here but in Appendix III I supply a list of other plays from the period our reading of which may be enriched by a thorough knowledge of contemporary funerary practices.

I want to use this conclusion to show the integrity of the thesis by demonstrating how my readings of Elizabethan and Jacobean plays complement my discussions of royal funerals. Further I compare and contrast my conclusions regarding public funeral ritual occasions with my assessments of their stage representations.

Close analysis of the heraldic funeral offering ritual has facilitated a greater appreciation of the symbolic structure of *Henry VI Part I* Act I Scene i. I bring out the central significance of the offering ritual in the scene, stressing the paramount importance of its succession resonance in the minds of the audience of the late 1580s or early 1590s. I point out that the repeated interruptions of the ritual, which escalate in significance, occur during the key offering of the achievements. The interruptions emphasize the lack of a capable successor to take up the mantle of the late warrior-hero King and reflect the succession worries of late

Elizabethan England. Shakespeare thus demonstrates an understanding of the vulnerability of the offering ritual. Such a vulnerability had recently been experienced at the 1587 Peterborough funeral of Mary Stuart and is reflected in the way in which the various published accounts differ with respect to which mourners had or had not witnessed the offering ceremony.

The fracturing of the desired display of unity and order that Shakespeare dramatizes was, however, more frequently encountered in the processional arena of the funeral ritual, which was more public and less easy to control. Processions were marred with disorder at the funerals of Anne of Denmark and James. The failure of ritual on these occasions seems to have resulted from a lack of care in creating the required impression of consensus. At Elizabeth's funeral James's political need to ensure a smooth succession gave the impetus to the careful staging of a full royal funeral that would demonstrate his lineal rights. Prince Henry Stuart's funeral provided the opportunity for James to reinscribe his relationship with his eldest son, healing the political rift that had grown up between them. On both occasions the effigy ritual constituted a central symbolic focus and key catalyst in the process of *sublimation* that would create the required consensual display. At Elizabeth's funeral, grief for the ageing Queen had to be, at least in part, manufactured. At both Elizabeth's and Prince Henry's, it needed to be directed in James's favour.

My reading of *The Revenger's Tragedy* Act III Scene v draws on

the discussions of the royal effigy ritual in Elizabeth's funeral and also the post-funeral display of both funeral and tomb effigies. The dramatist shows an appreciation of James's political use of these images and turns the royal technique of exploiting their posthumous display back on itself in a sharp critique of the Jacobean court.

The dressing up of the Gloriana skeleton in *The Revenger's Tragedy* also demonstrates, if satirically, the power of ritual symbols, recently manifested in the parallel refurbishment of the Gloriana-Elizabeth funeral effigy in Westminster Abbey. James's use of the tomb and funeral effigies to display his lineal rights illustrates his belief that, as the modern anthropologist, Clifford Geertz has put it, 'imagined power creates power'. *The Revenger's Tragedy* shows, however, the inherent vulnerability that lies in the exploitation of symbols. They are always open to appropriation by those who have opposite political goals.

The Second Maiden's Tragedy takes the question of the relationship between symbols and power further by investigating, in the context of funeral ritual, the controversial issue of idolatry, an abuse that was brought into prominence by the Reformation. The play engages with the rehabilitation of religious images and of ceremony, both features of the increasingly influential Arminianism, and both of which would be evident in the striking modifications made to royal funeral ritual for the obsequies of James I. The absurd homage played out to the dressed up corpse of the Lady in Act V Scene ii is not so far from the formal lying-in-state

ritual that would be played out to James's effigy while it lay in state at Denmark House some fifteen years later. Both performances are theatrically self-conscious but both also have an ambiguous status that must have verged on the idolatrous in the minds of at least some members of a contemporary audience. They show how dangerously close the emergent Caroline *religion royale* was to the ritual of the Catholic Church.

In my thesis I have highlighted the confused religious signals that emanated from the world of funeral ritual during the Jacobean reign. In the realm of funeral ritual, religious confusion was indicated by the rise of the nocturnal funeral, the Catholic obsequies of Northampton and, finally, the expanded role accorded to the effigy at the funeral of James. In the light of this, the anxiety about ritual demonstrated in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* is easier to understand. In addition, the modern critic can more readily appreciate why that anxiety was expressed in a funeral ritual context. Funerals figured large in contemporary audience experience.

Beyond the specific issues thrown up by the Stuart revival of Catholic-style religious practices, *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* engages with more profound questions about the status of ritual in dramatic art, and, by implication, of dramatic art itself. Both ritual and drama operate primarily through symbols. In the context of the play, the potential for idolatry involved in the process of watching a stage drama is suggested by the stage rituals. The Tyrant's homage to the Lady's body is clearly idolatrous but is not the audience also

compromised by observing the scene? On a deeper level, however, all stage representation mirrors creation and thus contravenes strict Calvinist interpretations of the second commandment. Ultimately Calvinists questioned the legitimacy of using symbols whether in the context of religious ritual, including heraldic funerals, or stage drama.

For the moment, however, in the England of the 1610s and 1620s, ambiguity saved both drama and religious ritual from serious attack. They both operated in a liminal space characterized by symbols: visual, aural, sometimes olfactory, and movement-based symbols. It is the ambiguity of symbols that determined the resilience of ritual forms in funeral practice. The ambiguity of these symbols was bound up in their non-verbal form. Although language itself is fraught with ambiguity, its meanings are more sharply defined than visual and movement-based symbols. Verbal justifications for post-Reformation funeral ritual had to replace 'religious' with 'civil' but the non-verbal ritual forms were unchanged. Ambiguity also permitted the kind of topical allusion demonstrated in my studies of *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*. In the former, contemporary allusions to the tomb and funeral effigies of Elizabeth are largely visual, and the only clear, but telling, verbal signal is in the naming of Gloriana. In *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* ambiguity is preserved through the confusion of religious allegiance displayed in the text. In both cases, ambiguity freed the plays from politically specific readings that would have necessitated intervention from the censor. In a broader sense, ambiguity helped to protect the status of drama in the

face of attack from the intensely iconophobic wing of Calvinist reform.

Similarly, ambiguity allowed some leeway in the political exploitation of funeral ritual forms. Thus the expectations of a 'traditional' royal funeral ritual, complete with effigy, could be exploited to smooth lineal succession at the funeral of Elizabeth. There were no fixed 'meanings' attached to the effigy ritual and thus no obvious incompatibility between the ritual, which involved the absence of the new king, and James's declared instantaneous succession. Just twenty-two years later, however, the royal funeral could be modified so that the offering ceremony ritually enacted the succession of Charles I in person. The modifications appear to have been made to create a ritual that would perform a succession based on hereditary divine right kingship. In ritual performance both tradition and situational adjustment were governed by political need.

Yet the attainment of the political goals relied on providing participants and spectators with the affective stimulation necessary to ensure a display of consensus. Thus the royal effigy ritual was maintained despite the Reformation. Similarly, the government allowed the practice of bell-ringing to survive and torchlit processions to be revived. At all times, however, funeral ritual and its symbols had to be deployed in ways that were in keeping with current trends in religion and culture. The effigy lying-in-state ritual which was an effective propaganda exercise displaying the posthumous glory of the divinely ordained King in 1625, would have been

unacceptable in 1603. In the meantime, however, the rise of Arminianism had blurred the definition of idolatry, creating a liminal space in which the modified lying-in-state ritual could be performed. Changes in ritual respond to changes in religion and culture. Situational adjustment has to operate within the bounds of what is acceptable within the broader cultural context. Ultimately, this thesis demonstrates that ritual, like drama, is dependent on performance and cultural conditions.

There is always some temptation to suppose that historical study is merely historical. The continuing relevance of funeral ritual in the world political arena has, however, been demonstrated by the recent obsequies of North Korean dictator, Kim Il Sung, which were held on 19 July 1994. Crowds gathered in the streets of Pyongyang to witness the ceremonies. In an interesting parallel to the Renaissance royal effigy ritual, the key element of this funeral procession was a ten foot portrait of the dead leader, his face alive with smiles (figure 102). This portrait was surely designed to provide a focus for the grief of the nation, whether genuine or meticulously orchestrated. In a further interesting parallel with Renaissance royal funerals, the ceremonies were carefully organized to enhance Kim Jong Il's image as the inheritor of his father's legacy. Kim Jong Il bowed repeatedly in front of his father's coffin, before it was driven off through the streets of the capital behind the smiling portrait. Although the two-day postponement of the funeral proceedings may have been because Kim Jong Il's wanted more time to secure his

102 An enormous portrait of Kim Il Sung at the head of the funeral cortège that passed through Pyongyang on 19 July 1994, from *The Independent*, 20 July 1994.

position, in the event the funeral preceded any public pronouncement of his succession. The ritual demonstration of the succession was, therefore, valuable propaganda. The official television portrayal of the funeral was able to transmit an alternative version of events, much in the manner of the variant written and pictorial accounts of Mary Stuart's funeral. Kim Jong Il's stepmother, Kim Song Ae, who was listed as present at the funeral ceremony, had been edited out of television footage of the mourning ceremonies of the previous week. In a final parallel, Kim Il Sung's body is to be embalmed in Moscow at a cost of £200 000 and put on display to preserve Kim Jong Il's lineal link with his popular predecessor in the minds of the Korean people. So far Kim Jong Il's position seems secure but the funeral and ritual succession may have only postponed a power struggle. Time will tell.

APPENDIX I: THE FUNERAL PROCESSION OF ELIZABETH I (1603)

There follows a transcription of Henry Chettle's 'The Order and Proceedings at the Funerall of the Right High and Mightie Princesse Elizabeth Queene of England, France and Ireland, from the Pallace of Westminster, called Whitehall: To the Cathedrall Church of Westminster 28th April 1603', as printed in *A Third Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts*, 3 vols (London: F. Gogan, 1751),I,51-4. The extra information included in the square brackets is from CA, Vincent MS 151 fols 521-535.

First the Knight Marshals man to make way

240 poor women (4 x 4)

Several Gentlemen Esquires and Knights

2 porters

4 trumpeters

Rose, Pursuivant at Arms [Philip Holland]

2 Serjeants at Arms

The Standard of the Dragon [borne by Sir George Bourchur]

2 Querries leading a Horse

Messengers of the Chamber (4 x 4)

Children of the Almonry

Children of the Woodyard

Children of the Skullery

Children of the furnes of Pastry

The Skalding house

The larder

Grooms

Wheat Porter

Coopers

Wine Porters

Conductors in the Bakehouse

Bell-ringer

Master of Spice-bags

Cart-takers, chosen by the bord

Long cartes
Cart-takers:

Of the Almery

Of the Stable

Of the Woodyard

Skullery

Pastrie

Skalding-house

Poultrie

Caterie

Boyling house

Larder

Ewry

Confectionary

Wafery

Chaundry

Pitcher-house

butterie

seller

Pantrie

Bake-house

Noblemen and Ambassadors Servants

Grooms of Chamber

4 trumpets

Blewmantle [Mercury Laten]

1 Standard at Arms

The Standard of the Greyhound [borne by Mr Philip Herbert, brother of the Earl of Pembroke]

2 Querries leading a Horse

Yeomen of the Servitors in the Hall (4 x 4)

Cart-takers

Porters

Almondrie

Herbenger

Woodyard

Skullery

Pastrie

Poultry and Skalding house

Purveyors of the Poultrie

Purveyors of the Acatrie

Stable

Boyling-house

Larder

Kitchen

Ewrie

Confectionarie

Waferie

Purveyor of the Wax

Tallow Chandler

Pitcher-house

Brewers

Butterie

Purveyors

Seller

Pantrie

Garneter

Bake-house

Counting-house

Spicery

Second and Third Clarkes of the Chaundrie

Chamber

Robes

Wardrobe

Earls and Countesses Servants

4 trumpeters

Portcullis [Samuell Thompson]

1 Standard at Arms

[The Standard of the Lion borne by Mr Thomas Somerset]

Skullerie

Woodyard

Poultrie

Bake-house

Acatrie

Stable

Serjeants

Gentleman Harbinger
Serjeants of the:

Woodyard

Skullery

Pastrie

Caterie

Larder

Ewry

Seller

Pastrie

Bake-House

Master Cooke of the Kitchen

Clarks of the Querrie

[Second and Third Clarkes of the kitchen]

Supervisors of the Dresser

Surveyors of the Dresser

Surveyor of the Dresser for the Chamber

Musicians

Apothecaries and Chirurgions

Sewers of the Hall

Marshall of the Hall

Sewers of the Chamber

Groom Porter

Gentlemen Ushers and Waiters

Clarke, Marshall and Almoner

Chiefe Clarke of the Wardrop

Chiefe Clarke of the Kitchen
2 Clark Controllers

Clarke of the Green Cloath

Master of the Household

Cofferer

Rouge Dragon [William Smith]

1 Standard at Arms

Banner of Chester [borne by Lord Zouch]

[Clarkes of the Councell]

[Clarkes of the Privy Seale]

Clarkes of the Signet

Sir John Popham [Lord Chief Justice]

Clarkes of the Parliament

Doctors of the Physick

The Queen's Chaplaines

Secretaries for the Latin and French tongue

Rouge Crosse [Thomas Knight]

2 Standards at Arms

Banner of Cornwall [borne by Lord Herbert, eldest sonne to Earle of Worcester]

Aldermen of London

Solicitor, Attorney and Serjeant

Master of the Revels and Master of the Tents

Knights Bachelor

Lord Chiefe Baron and Lord Chiefe Justice of the Common Pleas

Master of the Jewell House

Knights and Ambassadors and Gentlemen Agents

Sewers for the Queen

Sewers of the Body

Esquires of the Body

Lancaster [Francis Thinne] and Windsor

Banner of Wales, [borne by Viscount Bindon]

Banner of Ireland

Master of the Requests

Agents for Venice and the Estates

Lord Mayor of London
Sir John Fortescue [Master of the Wardrobe]

Sir Robert Cecil, principall Secretary

Controller and Treasurer of the Household

Barons

Bishops

Earles Eldest Sonnes

Viscounts

Dukes Second Sonnes

Earles

Marquesses

Bishop Almoner and Preacher [Anthony Watson, Bishop of Chichester]

Lord Keeper

The French Ambassador

Archbishop of Canterbury

4 Standards at Arms

Great Banner
Somerset [Robert Treswell] and Richmond [John Raven]

Yorke [Raph Brooke] with the helm and crest

[Chester, James Thomas with the target]

Norroy King at Arms [William Segar] with the sword

Clarenceaux King at Arms [William Camden] with the Coate

Gentlemen Ushers with white rods

The lively Picture of her Highnesse whole body, crowned in Parliament Robes, lying on the Corps balmed and leaded, covered with velvet, borne on a chariot, drawn by four horses, trapt in Black Velvet

6 Banner Rolls on each side

Gentlemen Pensioners with axes, their points downward

Footmen

A Canopy borne over the Chariot by four Noblemen

Earl of Worcester, Master of the Horse leading the Palfrie of Honour

2 Esquires and a Groom, to attend and leade him away

Gentleman Usher

Garter King of Arms [Sir William Dethick]

Lady Marchionesse of Northampton [Chiefe Mourner], assisted by the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Admiral.

Her Traine supported by the Master Vice-Chamberlaine [Sir John Stanhope]

2 Earles assistant to her

14 Countesses assistant

Gentlewomen of the Privy Chamber

Countesses

Viscountesses

Earles daughters

Baronesses

Maids of Honour of the Privy Chamber

Captain of the Guard with all the Guard following, five by five in a rank, their Halberds downward

APPENDIX II: THE FUNERAL RITES OF CHARLES IX[1]

After a long and painful illness, Charles IX died at half past three in the afternoon on 30 May 1574, the day of Pentecost, at the château de Vincennes. Dressed in a pourpoint camisole, the body remained on view for one day before being delivered up to the surgeons for the autopsy.

Under their supervision, the heart and entrails were removed and the body embalmed. The heart was to be buried separately in the church of the Celestines in Paris, before the main funeral rites. The body, encased in a wood and lead coffin, was placed once again in the chamber where the King had died. There the coffin was displayed on a bed of richly embroidered red satin and attended by officers of the King's household and forty-eight monks of the four mendicant orders who commenced the religious rites: the vigils, prayers and masses said for the dead King.[1]

Meanwhile the adjacent room was transformed into a 'salle d'honneur'. When ready, an effigy of the King, 'après le vif et naturel', was placed in state within on a bed of honour, draped in cloth of gold with an ermine border. The

[1]This account is based on Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits français 18536, reproduced by Simon Goulart in his *Mémoirs de l'Estat de France Sous Charles Neufiesme*, 2nd edn., 3 vols (Paris: [n. pub.], 1577),III, 374-386. Also referred to are BN (fr) 4317 and 18523, in particular for the order of the convoy.

[1]The four mendicant orders, the Carmelites, Augustines, Capuchins and Jacobins, were specialists in death, see Santiago,pp.81-4; and Ariès,p.83.

effigy was dressed in a red satin camisole, a tunic of blue satin embroidered with fleurs-de-lis and a royal mantle of purple velvet, again embroidered with fleurs-de-lis and having a collar of ermine.[3] Around the neck of the effigy hung the Order of St. Michel, and on its head, over a red satin bonnet, was the imperial crown studded with jewels.[4] Its feet were clad in golden slippers with red satin soles.

On a richly embroidered velvet pillow to the right of the effigy, lay the royal sceptre. While on the left, on a similar cushion, lay the hand of justice. At the foot of the bed were two little stools bearing a golden cross and a silver fount of holy water. On either side two further stools were provided for the heralds-at-arms who continually watched over the body.

A sumptuous canopy of gold and silver tapestry studded with pearls was suspended over the bed. Silver gilt candlesticks supporting white candles stood on altars on either side of the bed. Two more large candles at the foot of the bed provided the only remaining light in the room. The walls were lined with seats draped in gold, upon which were seated the cardinals, prelates, gentlemen and officers who were continually present in the chamber.

The effigy lay in state for forty days. During this

[3]The 'purple' robes are severally referred to as being red, scarlet or vermilion by various writers, see Giesey (1960),p.56.

[4]The Valois kings adopted the closed imperial crown in imitation of Charles V, see Bryant,p.109; and Guenée,p.147.

period, meals were served to the effigy at the usual hours of dinner and supper, exactly in the manner practised when the King had been alive. The table was set by the officers of the commissary; the service carried by the gentlemen servants, the bread-carrier, the cup-bearer and the carver; the usher marching in front of them followed by the officers of the cupboard who spread the table with the reverences and samplings that were customarily made. After the bread was broken and prepared, the meat and other courses were brought in by the usher, steward, bread-carrier, pages of the chamber, squires of the cuisine and *garde-vaisselle*. The steward presented the napkin to the most dignified person present to wipe the hands of the King. A cardinal proceeded to bless the table and bowls of water for washing the hands were presented at the seat of the King, just as if he had still been living. The three courses of the meal were acted out with all the usual forms, ceremonies and samplings, not omitting the presentation of the cup at the times and junctures when the King had been accustomed to drink at each of his meals. The repast concluded with the offering of water to wash and the saying of grace, the only addition to the normal sequence being the *De profundis* and the *Inclina Domine aurem tuam*. Assisting at the meal were the same people who had been accustomed to speak or respond to his majesty during his lifetime, and also others who were usually present.

Towards the end of the forty-day period the *salle d'honneur* was transformed overnight into a chamber of mourning.

Triumph metamorphosed into a lugubriousness. The gold and silver canopy was replaced by one of black velvet, twelve feet square in dimension, and decorated with gold cord and black silk embroidered with gold thread. Beneath the canopy, the effigy had disappeared. In its place, on an elevated platform, lay the coffin covered with a black velvet mortuary drape which had a large white satin cross in the centre; overlaid with a cloth of gold. Around the bier was erected a barrier, seven feet wide, bearing fourteen large candles, each made with ten pounds of white wax; their flames burning continuously day and night.

The imperial crown rested on the centre of a square of cloth of gold at the head of the coffin, framed by the sceptre and hand of justice. A golden cross lay at the foot of the bier. The earlier arrangement of stools for the fonts of holy water and the heralds-at-arms was preserved. Two altars, one high and one low, were placed on either side of the coffin. Both were covered in black velvet drapes with white satin crosses. Services of high and low mass were performed at these respective altars from daybreak until midday.

The encoffined body remained in this chamber of mourning until it was transported in a processional convoy from the Bois de Vincennes to the Church of St. Antoine des Champs, on the 10 July 1574.[1] This procession was headed by the

[1]BN 18536 has St. Antoine des Champs but is probably inaccurate. More likely the church was St-Antoine-des-Quinze-Vingts, which was traditionally the final station of the funeral convoy before its entry into Paris, see Giesey (1960),p.37. The church was located outside the city walls

five hundred poor, dressed in mourning, each carrying a torch bearing the royal arms and led by an escort of twenty men holding black batons to guide the poor and keep order. There followed a host of men-of-arms, servants, officers and gentlemen; the premier steward bringing up the rear of this group. Next came the guard of honour preceded by the premier squire carrying the Banner of France, its brilliant colours of blue and gold hidden beneath black crepe; and six pages mounted on chargers, tired in black velvet horse-cloths which trailed right to the ground. A group of church dignitaries, heralds-at-arms and twenty-four archers preceded five knights carrying the *pieces d'honneur* - two spurs, escutcheon, coat of arms, helmet and gauntlets - all draped in black. Then came the parade horse, entirely covered with a violet cloth embroidered with fleur-de-lis. The body followed, carried on a funeral chariot; while the rear of the procession comprised knights of the Order of St. Michel and four hundred archers of the guard, marching with their ensigns furled.[6] The effigy made no appearance in this part of the procession.

As the convoy approached the church of St. Antoine, the twenty-four town-criers of Paris took their places in front of the poor. Representatives of the estates of Paris, together with a number of presidents of the court and councillors, lined the route leading to the church, bowing

to the east of Paris; just north of the present-day Gare de Lyon. There may be confusion with Notre-Dame-des-Champs, a church in the south of Paris to which Francis I's body was taken.

[6]The Order of St. Michel was created by Louis XI in 1469, see Boureau (1988),p.112,n.24.

their bared heads in reverence as the coffin passed their ranks.

That evening a service was held in the church attended by officers and domestic servants of the deceased King. The church itself was hung with black drapes, garnished with escutcheons and brilliantly illuminated by the light of numerous candles.

On the morning of the 11 July, following the celebration of mass, the portals of the church were closed to allow the effigy to be laid on the funeral chariot which was then positioned at the entrance of the church. There the ranks of the prevosts of the merchants, the aldermen and other municipal officials and the bourgeois of Paris, who had come that morning in procession from the *Hôtel de Ville*, filed past the corpse and effigy aspersing both with holy water.[1] Then Pierre de Condy, Bishop of Paris said the subvenite and aspersed the corpse and effigy himself signalling the commencement of the procession to Notre Dame.

The vanguard was formed of the archers and cross-bowmen of Paris whose job was to keep the crowd in its place and the route clear. Then came the various mendicant orders and the parish curates; then the five hundred poor; followed by the twenty-four town-criers ringing their bells constantly and calling on the people to pray for the soul of the

[1]François Bonnardot, ed., *Régistres des Déliberations du Bureau de la Ville de Paris*, 18 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1883-1953), VII (1893),9.

`trèshaut, très puissant, et très magnanime Charles par la grace de Dieu Roy de France très chrétien neuf' de ce nom. Prince clément et victorieux grand zélateur de paix et justice'. Next came the watch and the police; the advocates, notaries and other officials of Châtelet; then the families of the princes, cardinals and gentlemen, all in mourning.[1] Next came the chaplains of Notre Dame and St. Chapelle, marching with the Rector of the University. There followed two files marching side-by-side: the collegians and other religious on one side and the university on the other. The first part of the procession was completed by a group of one hundred Swiss guards; followed by two hundred gentlemen; the officers of the King's household; the First Esquire carrying the pennon; and finally the trumpeters and hautboy-players.[1] The funeral cart bearing the coffin came next, escutcheons fixed to its sides, with the mortuary drape now enriched with eight large embroidered coats of arms. Thus the cart was called a *chariot d'armes.*[11] It was drawn by six chargers with black velvet cloths reaching right to the ground. Then came the six knights bearing the *pièces d'honneur*, the coat of arms borne by the knight-in-chief.

A group of archbishops and bishops, wearing copes and mitres of white damask, separated the coffin escort from

[1]For a detailed discussion of the various styles of mourning appropriate to different ranks, see Santiago, pp.116-69.

[1]A corps of one hundred Swiss guards became part of the royal household in 1497, see Boureau (1988),p.112,n.25.

[11]Giesey (1960),p.12; see also Ariès,p.118.

the focal point of the convoy: the effigy, which was appearing for the first time since the overnight transformation of the *salle d'honneur* into the *salle de deuil*. The cardinals of Lorraine, Bourbon and Aix, marching three-abreast, immediately preceded the parade horse, which was led by two valets on foot.[11] Next, side-by-side marched the Master of the Horse carrying the Sword of France, the Bishop of Paris and the Grand Almoner, accompanied by a chaplain bearing a cross.[12]

The effigy followed on a litter, borne according to established privilege by the *hanouars*, the salt-carriers of the city of Paris.[13] The *hanouars* were, however, all but totally screened from view by the golden mortuary drape trailing almost to the ground, on which the effigy lay.[14] The corners of this mortuary drape were held by the four presidents of the Parlement of Paris dressed in their traditional scarlet robes.[15] Gentlemen of the Chamber

[11]BN 18532 puts the ambassadors here; but I have followed BN 18536 and 4317 placing them later in the convoy. The ambassadors also appeared in the later position at the funeral of Francis I. The Cardinal of Aix is not mentioned in BN 18523.

[12]The sword of France was also carried in front of the king as he left Rheims cathedral after his coronation, see Bryant,p.111 and Duchésne,p.232; there was a kind of mysticism surrounding the sword, see Giesey (1960),pp.68-9, 134 n.30. The Bishop of Paris and the Grand Almoner are only mentioned in BN 18523.

[13]For more information on the role of the *hanouars* in the funeral convoy, see Giesey (1960),pp.61-6.

[14]The *hanouars* are not mentioned in all the manuscript sources, but are included in BN 4315 and also in Bonnardot,VII,193.

[15]BN 18523 erroneously has six presidents. This formation was imitated in the royal entry ceremony where the four presidents of Parlement bore the king's wax seal,

accompanied them. The Duke of Aumale marched on the immediate right of the effigy; while on the left marched the Marquis of Nomchy who was representing the Duke of Mayenne.[16] Behind the effigy came the First Chamberlain who carried the Banner of France; and after him the Marshal of Retz.[17]

A canopy, which had in fact been provided by the town officials, was supported by the four *échevins* of Paris.[18] Rather than being held directly above the effigy, the canopy was carried a little behind so as not to obscure the effigy from view.[19]

Behind the canopy came the princes of deep mourning: the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre together with the Prince of Conde and his brother Francis of Bourbon; on horseback and wearing black robes of mourning with long

see Bryant,p.56. The seal was not displayed in the funeral ceremony, see Giesey (1960),p.68.

[16]BN 18536 and 4317 put Aumale later in the convoy but they also omit the canopy and would seem to be less than accurate at this point. The Marquis of Nomchy is mentioned in BN 18523.

[17]The banner of France was deemed to be quasi-sacred, see Jackson,p.33. BN 4317 and 18536 put Retz after Alençon, Navarre, the princes of blood and the ambassadors.

[18]The four *échevins* (aldermen in the municipal government) included the *prévôt des marchands* (the mayor of Paris); the registrar; the *procureur* (solicitor); and the *receveur* (tax-collector), see the glossary of terms in Salmon (1975),pp.343-351. They are identified in Claude Malingré, *Les Antiquitez de la Ville de Paris* (Paris: Pierre Rocolel, 1640),p.686, as Président Charron (*prévôt*); Jean le Jay; Jean de Bragelonne; and Robert Danés.

[19]Du Tillet,p.343.

trains.[10] They represented the mourning of the royal family.[11] Following them were the papal nuncio, and the ambassadors of the Empire, Scotland, Venice, Ferrara and Spain. The procession tailed off with a group of ushers of the royal chamber; gentlemen; knights and a royal guard of harquibusiers.

The entrance to Notre Dame was lit by two large candles and the wooden doors decorated with two large embroidered escutcheons. The nave, choir and transept were hung with black drapes embellished with more escutcheons. The main altar and lesser altars were also covered with black velvet. The whole church was lit with innumerable candles and lights; and for the reception of the effigy a *chapelle ardente*, hung with little bells and brilliantly illuminated, had been placed in the centre of the choir.

The seating arrangement for the service at Notre Dame was made according to strict protocol. The princes of deep mourning were seated on high chairs in the choir; in front of them, on lower chairs, were the lesser nobles and then the knights of the Order. On the same side on still lower chairs were the two captains of the guard, and the captain of the hundred gentlemen. Opposite, seated on high chairs, were the ambassadors, the Rector of the University and Parlement of Paris. Before the high altar sat the Bishop of Paris with his assistants, and just to one side the

[10]BN 4315 mentions also a Duke de Longuet who I have been unable to identify.

[11]See Giesey (1960),p.14. BN 4317 and 18536 put Alençon and Navarre immediately behind the effigy.

cardinals seated on a long bench. Below them, on another bench were the gentlemen of the chamber who remained there throughout the whole of the service and vigils.

The following day, after the Bishop of Paris had celebrated the final mass, and the offertory had been reached, the princes of deep mourning were led one by one to the offertory chapel where they kissed the *platine*, took a white candle, decorated with five or six golden coats of arms, from one of the heralds-at-arms and were then led back to their seats by the master of ceremonies. Finally, the funeral oration, lasting about one hour, was pronounced by Monsieur de Saint Foy. Once the service was over, everybody retired to dine.

At one o'clock those involved in the procession together with the other court officials and the estates of Paris, gathered once more to march to the church of Saint-Denis. At the gate of Saint-Denis the municipal officials who had been carrying the canopy over the effigy delivered it up to gentlemen of the late King's household who would bear it to the doors of the church.[11] When the convoy arrived at a point between Paris and Saint-Denis called the *croix penchante*, the abbot of Saint-Denis, the Cardinal of Lorraine, came to receive the body and effigy of the King, and to bring them to the church which had undergone the same preparations for the funeral as had been made at Notre Dame: draped in black, and complete with a splendidly lit *chapelle ardente*.

[11]Bonnardot,p.194.

The Cardinal of Lorraine officiated at vespers and again the next morning for the final high mass, assisted by various archbishops and bishops. The same ceremony that had taken place at Notre Dame, involving the princes of deep mourning proceeding to the offertory chapel, was observed. Monsieur de Saint Foy again pronounced the funeral orison.

After the service the Cardinal of Lorraine proceeded to the grave and vault prepared for the reception of the body which was carried to the graveside, still in its coffin, by the gentlemen of the chamber. After further prayers the coffin was placed in the grave at which point the most senior and principal herald-at-arms called out in a loud voice commanding all the other heralds-at-arms to come forward and deposit their coats of arms on the wooden railing built around and above the vault. They were followed by the captains of the guard carrying their ensigns. Next came eight knights bearing the *pièces d'honneur*, together with the crown, the sceptre and the hand of justice, all of which were laid right in the vault. At this moment the herald cried out three times in a loud voice 'Le Roy est mort'. Then, as the Banner of France was raised on high, the herald cried three times 'Vive le Roy Henry troisième de ce nom a qui Dieu donne bonne vie'. Then all the objects were recovered from the barrier and raised on high. The objects in the grave were not recovered immediately. Traditionally, they were not displayed again in public until the coronation of the next king.

The ceremony at the graveside over, the party retired to the great hall for the funeral dinner. This room, too, had been draped in black. After grace had been said, Monsieur Aumale, representing the Grand Master, addressed the company saying that now, since their master was dead, the household would be dissolved, in token of which he broke his baton. The funeral ceremonies of Charles IX were over.

APPENDIX III: PLAYS WORTHY OF RE-CONSIDERATION IN THE CONTEXT OF FUNERAL RITUAL

Beaumont and Fletcher	*The Maid's Tragedy* (1610)
Chapman	*Caesar and Pompey*
	Bussy D'Ambois (1604)
	The Widow's Tears (c.1605)
	Charles Duke of Byron (1608)
	The Revenge of Bussy (c.1610)
Dekker and Massinger	*The Virgin Martyr* (1620)
Dekker and Middleton	*1 and 2 The Honest Whore* (1604-5)
Fletcher	*Bonduca* (1611-14)
	Thierry and Theodoret (1613-21)
	Valentinian (1610-14)
Ford	*The Lover's Melancholy* (1628)
	The Broken Heart (1629?)
	'Tis Pity She's a Whore (1630?)
Heywood	*A Woman Killed With Kindness* (1603)
	The Rape of Lucrece (c.1608)
Kyd	*Soliman and Perseda*
	Spanish Tragedy (c.1587)
Marlowe	*1 and 2 Tamburlaine* (1587-8)
	Edward II (1592)
Marston and Barksted	*The Insatiate Countess* (1607-8)
Marston	*Antonio and Mellida* (1599)
	Antonio's Revenge (1600)
	The Malcontent (1603)
	Wonder of Women (Sophonisba) (1605)
Massinger	*The Duke of Milan* (1621-2)
	The Fatal Dowry (1617-9)

Middleton	*The Changeling* (1622)
Middleton, Massinger and Rowley	*The Old Law*
Norton and Sackville	*Gorbudoc* (1562)
Peele	*The Battle of Alcazar* (1589)
	Edward I
Preston	*Cambyses*
Shakespeare	*King John*
	1, 2 and 3 Henry VI (1590-3?)
	Titus Andronicus (1591?)
	Richard III (1593?)
	Romeo and Juliet (1594?)
	Richard II (1595)
	1 and 2 Henry IV (1596-7)
	Much Ado About Nothing (1598)
	Julius Caesar (1599)
	Hamlet (1601)
	King Lear (1605)
	Measure for Measure (1603)
	Othello (1603-4)
	Macbeth (1606)
	Anthony and Cleopatra (1608)
	Coriolanus (1608)
	Cymbeline (1609)
	Timon of Athens (1607-8?)
Shirley	*The Traitor* (1631)
Tourneur	*The Athiest's Tragedy*
	The Revenger's Tragedy (1606-7)
Webster	*The White Devil* (1612)
	The Duchess of Malfi (1614)

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AUTHOR Jennifer Kate Alice WOODWARD

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